







# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study of Rural Life*

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VOL. 11

MARCH, 1946

No. 1

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*Dwight Sanderson—Social Builder.....W. A. Anderson*

*Dwight Sanderson—Social Scientist.....Carl C. Taylor*

*Dwight Sanderson—Group. ....Howard W. Beers and John H. Kolb*

*Dwight Sanderson—Family.....Robert G. Foster*

*Dwight Sanderson—Community.....Douglas Ensminger and  
Robert A. Polson*

*Notes by Alexander Joss.....Edited by Paul H. Landis*

*Current Bulletin Reviews.....Edited by Conrad Taeuber*

*Book Reviews.....Edited By Howard W. Beers*

*News Notes and Announcements.....Edited By Leland B. Tate*

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University of North Carolina

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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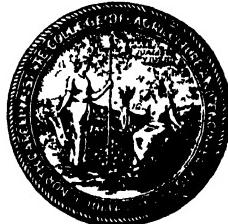
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## The Dwight Sanderson Memorial Number

A WORD concerning this issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY is in order. Bruce Melvin, for many years closely associated with Sanderson at Cornell, was the first to suggest that one issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY be devoted to articles concerned with the life and work of Dwight Sanderson. At the 1945 annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Chicago we called together all former students of Sanderson, who were present, to determine what form the memorial should take. At this meeting it was decided that a series of articles should be written. A delegation then requested that Carl Taylor and Lowry Nelson organize the issue and get the manuscripts in. To these two men, neither of whom were students of Sanderson but both of whom were among his closest friends, should go the credit of organizing this issue. All those who contributed papers except John Kolb and Carl Taylor were former students of Sanderson.

Originally we planned to have one of those who knew Dwight Sanderson and his works best, organize an integrated article which would analyze Sanderson's conceptual scheme and contributions and relate them to those of other outstanding sociologists. We thought that the more critical, objective, scientific and devoid of feeling this article could have been, the more Sanderson would have appreciated it and the more useful it would have been. Such a procedure might have avoided duplications and other weaknesses of the present issue but it would not have been as effective in revealing the true esteem in which his friends and students held him.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS  
C. HORACE HAMILTON





DWIGHT SANDERSON, 1878-1944



# Dwight Sanderson, Rural Social Builder

*By W. A. Anderson†*

My first personal contact with Dwight Sanderson took place sixteen years ago when I came to Cornell to complete work for the Doctorate under his direction. I have been an intimate associate of his for each of the succeeding years until his death. In the first year I gained an impression that deepened with the years of companionship. I came to know him then, as I know him now, a man with a dominant passion for the building of a better rural life through the development of the science of rural sociology.

Dr. Sanderson, or "Chief" as we affectionately called him, never told me much about his parents or his life before he went away to college and I never made specific inquiry. I learned that his father had been a minister and that Dwight was born at Clio, Michigan, while his father was serving a pastorate there. I also learned that he spent his early days in Michigan and was an alumnus of Michigan Agricultural College, getting a bachelor of science degree from that institution in 1897. But his parents must have been strong believers in the devotion of one's life to work for others. Not only did "Chief" spend his whole career of over 40 years in such activities, but his two younger brothers have been engaged in social and religious work for the whole of

their lives. This parental stimulus must have been a foundation stone for his final, major purpose, the development of a fine rural life through the science of rural society.

## Career as Entomologist

One of the most interesting things to me about Dr. Sanderson's career is that it arrived at its final goal through a process of long time development. The "Chief" did not begin his career of work for others in the broad human field where he finally completed his work. He started out to be an economic entomologist, hoping to aid others by helping to solve some of these problems. After he graduated from Michigan State, he came to Cornell and obtained a second bachelor's degree. While at Cornell, he was a student of and assistant to Professor J. G. Needham, one of Cornell's famous entomologists, who has often facetiously remarked that Dr. Sanderson was "a case of a fine entomologist gone wrong."

That Dr. Sanderson was "a fine entomologist" is proven by his record in this field. He left Cornell in 1898 and went to the Maryland Agricultural College as Assistant State Entomologist. In the fall of 1899 he became entomologist at the Delaware Agricultural Experiment Station, where he remained until 1902. In 1902 he became entomologist of the

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† Professor of Rural Sociology, Cornell University.

State of Texas and professor of entomology in the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. After two years in Texas, he became professor of zoology at New Hampshire College, now the University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire. After three years as professor of zoology, he became the director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at that institution. In the fall of 1910, "Chief" went to West Virginia to be Dean of the College of Agriculture and the Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, where he remained until 1915. It is clear from these steps that he made steady progress as an entomologist, rising from his first job, as an assistant to a position as chief entomologist for a state in the course of five years and then continuing on to administer entomological work on a state-wide basis.

During the time he was an active entomologist, he constantly carried on research and continuously published the results of this work. His material began to appear in 1898 in scientific journals, magazines, and bulletins and not a year passed between 1898 and 1916 without a number of them being published. Work on aphids, san jose scale, the codling moth, the cotton boll weevil, to name only a few, found their way into print. In all, these articles and bulletins numbered almost one hundred

During this same period, he was the author or joint author of four books. The first appeared in 1902. It

was entitled *Insects Injurious to Staple Crops*. Ten years later *Insect Pests of Farm, Garden and Orchard* was published, followed shortly by an *Elementary Entomology* co-authored with C. F. Jackson. In 1916, with L. M. Peairs, he presented *School Entomology*.

When his work in entomology is considered, one fact stands out, the Chief wanted his exact science to help people. To control insects so as to achieve more production for better family living was his goal. He achieved it to a high degree.

That his colleagues in entomology recognized his ability and deep purpose is confirmed by the fact that, in 1910, they made him president of the American Association of Economic Entomologists. He had shown an interest in the organizational affairs of this Association and made an important contribution to it by developing and presenting a practical plan for the financing of its journal, of which he was business manager from 1908 until 1911. Further evidence of his purpose to help others is shown by the interest he took in the movement to standardize insecticides and to require their accurate labeling. This activity culminated in the Federal Insecticide Act. For two decades, therefore, he was devoted to economic entomology and became a nationally known leader in this field.

#### A College Administrator

It has already been noted that while at the University of New

Hampshire, the Chief began to be involved in agricultural college administration as Director of the Experiment Station. He was called to West Virginia in 1910 to serve for five years as Dean of its College of Agriculture and as Director of its Agricultural Experiment Station. These duties took him away more and more from his entomological projects and brought him increasingly in touch with the problems of human relationships. To guide a College of Agriculture in its total service for the rural people of a state made him very conscious of the social and economic problems involved as well as those of technical agriculture.

But there was another contributing factor to the development of what eventuated in a final determination to leave administrative work and to devote himself to the social problems of rural life. The Chief had married Anna Cecilia Blandford shortly after he went to Maryland to begin his first job in entomology. Cecilia Blandford was a farm girl who became a rural school teacher. Her constant interest in and contacts with rural problems kept Dwight Sanderson always face to face with social issues, so that the family background out of which he came and the family situation which he himself established worked quietly but effectively to push him into this new and unchartered field. It seemed almost inevitable, therefore, that, in spite of 20 years in an exact science field, he would decide to prepare himself for work in Sociology and social relationships. This decision he made

in 1916. In 1917, while still a national figure in entomology and college administration, he enrolled as a graduate student of sociology at the University of Chicago.

### Rural Sociologist

Sometimes in one's lighter moments, one is tempted to believe in fate or predestination. Many a wise ancient Greek would have said it was fate that brought Dwight Sanderson and Albert R. Mann to Chicago to study sociology at the same time and even to live in adjoining apartments. But most of us will probably conclude that it was just an accident. Whatever it was, it was a most important factor in the Chief's life.

Liberty Hyde Bailey had decided that the College of Agriculture at Cornell should make the study of the Human Problems of Rural Life a major objective. Albert R. Mann had grown up with Dr. Bailey and was his close associate and secretary of the College. Mann had absorbed Bailey's enthusiasm for the human side of agriculture and so he accepted appointment as professor of rural sociology and head of a new Department of Rural Social Organization, the first such department to be established in a college of agriculture. But fate or whatever it is, decided that Albert R. Mann, after his work at Chicago, should return to Cornell, not as professor of rural sociology but as Dean of the College of Agriculture. Cornell, then, needed a professor of rural sociology and a head to develop the program of this new department.

Sanderson was Mann's selection to come to Cornell in this capacity. He arrived on October the fifteenth, 1918 and spent, thereafter, exactly 25 years in this post.

#### a. Scientific Contributions to Rural Sociology

What were the accomplishments of this quarter of a century given to the new and undeveloped field? I will cite a number. None will be more important to my way of thinking than his passionate devotion and his specific contributions to the building of rural sociology as a science. This was the keynote of all his work. His previous educational background was in an exact science. When he came into rural sociology, he made the search for the principles by which the phenomena of rural life operate, his major goal. Now he was not simply desirous of describing the structure and functioning of rural phenomena for their own sake; he said, and I know that it was his theme through his whole career as a rural sociologist: "The sociology of rural life is especially concerned with the structure and functioning of the various types of social groups, and the application of these scientific data to social organization." This statement came in the early days of his career and when he published his final book in this field in 1942, he gave it the title, "Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization." He always held that a good rural social organization could not be built except as it was founded on sound principles.

The Chief, therefore, set out to contribute to a science. His first question was, "What are the phenomena of rural life and how may they be described?" Taking a clue from the work of Galpin, and getting support from the theory of Simmel, he laid his foundation in the study of the social group, especially the locality groups, the community and the neighborhood. Between 1918 and 1921, he made an exhaustive study of the history of the rural community which he presented as his Doctor's dissertation to the University of Chicago in 1921 and which was published later in book form under the title, *The Rural Community: The Natural History of a Sociological Group*. This was the spring board for the most intensive research he did. For about 15 years, he and his graduate students conducted researches describing the community patterns of New York rural counties. He summarized and synthesized this work in an important Cornell University Experiment station bulletin: *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*.

Another significant scientific contribution has to do with the Social Group. If, he reasoned, the social group is the most general structural form in a society, then sociology cannot advance far as a science, until it describes and classifies groups. To this he also devoted much study. He conducted for a number of years a graduate seminar on the structural characteristics and classification of different types of social groups. He

published several journal papers on Group Description and Group Classification. He urged his students to work in this area of sociology as one basic and most promising. Because of this intensive, long-time work, the Chief has made a most substantial contribution to the construction of a real scientific rural sociology.

### b. Social Welfare

But I must not lose sight in my enthusiasm for this scientific work, of the fact that my colleague also contributed to practical rural social organization and welfare. Again, I repeat, he wanted to help rural people. Science must be the foundation. But practical programs were possible. Early, therefore, in his work at Cornell he developed the extension division of the department with programs of community organization, rural recreation, rural dramatics, leadership training for youth and adult organizations, and many others. Early in his sociological career he published a small book, *The Farmer and His Community*, the thesis of which is that farm folks should work together in their local community for a better social and economic life. This thesis he expanded in a later volume with his associate, Robert Polson, titled *Rural Community Organization*. This is a volume of practical suggestions on how and what to do in rural community work. Perhaps his most significant emphasis in this area was on the development of the centralized school as the chief integrating force in the natural rural communities of the country.

### c. Work with Students

"The just man passeth away but his light remaineth" says an ancient book. This is true of Chief. His light remains, particularly in his graduate students. As the years of teaching and research rolled by for him at Cornell the number of men and women who came to study with him increased at a rapid rate, and when his quarter of a century was done, 40 persons had received doctorates, many had obtained master's diplomas, and a host had been in his classes. I was tempted to name some of these students, tell what they have been doing in Rural Sociology and state where they are working, but I cannot name them all, and since omissions would leave out many who are achieving magnificently, I will only say that they are now operating in the colleges of agriculture, the United States Department of Agriculture, in many national organizations in this country, and in many foreign lands, as teachers, research workers and extension specialists in rural sociology, so that his influence is extended throughout the world. I cannot refrain from telling that, just as I was in the midst of writing this last sentence, a man with a Ph.D. from the University of Edinborough who had been a Resident Doctor under Sanderson in 1937, came into my office to get a recommendation for a renewal of this privilege for the 1945-46 academic year. Since his year of post-doctoral work, he has been teaching and doing extension work in rural sociology at Beirut, Syria, spreading

the influence of the Chief into the rural areas of that land. This illustration could be multiplied many times, for there are men and women in India, China, Africa, South America, and many European countries who are spreading his work.

Dwight Sanderson's influence on students was not because he was an inspiring lecturer. He could not spell bind. But he was an excellent discussion leader, incisive, kindly, critical, and always constructive, with the ability to get students to think for themselves and to have confidence in their thinking. So they came to him, somewhat tremblingly at times, but always with the feeling that they would be helped.

#### d. Writings in Rural Sociology

The Chief began to write in the field of Rural Sociology immediately after he began to study the subject. While at the University of Chicago, and looking forward to his ultimately teaching rural sociology, he made a study of the "Teaching of Rural Sociology, particularly in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities." He published the results in the January, 1917 issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. This was his first article in the new field, but, as in entomology, not a year passed after 1917, without many productions from his pen. In all they include five books, 17 research bulletins, chiefly from the Experiment Station at Cornell, 48 articles in scientific journals and magazines, and a list of reports, proceedings, and book reviews number-

ing in the sixties. His last published writing was a review of Liberty Hyde Bailey's *The Holy Earth*, appearing in the September, 1943 issue of RURAL SOCIOLOGY. This book had been reprinted in early 1943 through the efforts of the Christian Rural Fellowship and Dr. Sanderson's last written message was to urge rural pastors, educators, and sociologists to study it for "it is a deeply religious book, and because it combines religious perception with a practical philosophy of human behavior and procedure."

Someone once asked me which of the Chief's writings in rural sociology would be the most enduring. Of course, one cannot answer such a question. But if I were to select several that I think will influence rural sociology for a long time, I would pick his three books, *The Rural Community*, *Rural Community Organization* and *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, together with his research bulletin, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York* and a journal article, "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology."

#### e. Organizational Activities

A person with the point of view that dominated Dr. Sanderson would have to participate in the wider activities influencing American Country Life. Chief did more than his share of work in these areas. The first such relationship that stands out is with the American Country Life Association. When this organization came into being in 1919, he became a member of its Board of Directors and

later its Secretary. He worked with the organization for many years and was its President in 1938. A particularly constructive thing which he did in this organization was his editorship of the volume, *Farm Income and Farm Life*. This is a series of thoughtful papers on the relation of social and economic factors in rural progress and still has much to contribute to a better rural life.

When the rural sociologists were few in number and needed the stimulus of mutual association, Sanderson helped to organize the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society and was the first chairman of this sectional group. After the rural sociologists increased in number to the point where they felt the need for a separate organization to promote their common interests, although Dr. Sanderson was at first opposed to separation from the American Sociological Society, he yielded to the desires of his colleagues and helped to organize the Rural Sociological Society and to establish its journal, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. He was elected the first president of this organization and did much to insure its success.

But the Chief did not lessen his interest and activity in the parent sociological society. He worked on its committees, presided at its conferences and prepared papers for presentation at its sessions. That his sociological colleagues considered him one of their number is attested by the fact that he was elected President of the American Sociological Association for 1942.

Dr. Sanderson served on practically every major committee planning for expansions or developments in rural sociological research, extension or teaching and wrote or assisted in preparing the reports that presented policies and planning during 1918 to 1943. During 1933 he went to Washington to organize the social research division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and was instrumental in working out a system of cooperative research in rural social welfare problems between the States and the Federal government.

#### f. Activities as a Local Citizen

One would be justified in concluding that a person who was as busily engaged in his professional activities as the Chief would have little time to participate in the activities of his local community. But this is not true. Chief believed in the development of the local community as the means for getting a better life for all the people. Therefore, he played his role as a good citizen. His principal interests in the city of Ithaca where Cornell is located, included several organizations. He was a director for many years of the Social Service League which operates two settlement houses in the community. He worked on the Boards of the Family Society, the local Red Cross, the Community Chest, and the Council of Social Agencies. He organized the Town and County Social Workers' Club. These public activities suggests how broad his community interests were and show how much his usefulness was recognized by his fellow citizens.

### **g. Personal Characteristics**

What manner of man was this person who attained eminence in two distinct fields of science, a thing rarely achieved in one lifetime, and at the same time performed so many public services, both on a national and local basis?

My years of almost daily meeting with him made me vividly aware that he was always quietly serious. The problems of rural life and of society in general were in his mind at all times and he was always ardently working at some of them, trying to add his stint to their solution. As a result, while he possessed a cordial kindness, at times he seemed overly serious. He was never humorous. I do not remember hearing him tell a funny story or relate a comical inci-

dent. I recall that when he was an after-dinner speaker at an annual sociological society meeting and followed several men who related humorous stories or described funny situations, he stated frankly that he could not be witty and went on to give a thoughtful, earnest talk on the fields of research in sociology.

I certainly do not want to give the impression that my friend was morose. He was never that. He was a man of genuine good-will and warm friendliness, so that his students, colleagues, and friends loved to visit in his home. To me he was a true social builder who possessed what the Chinese teacher said the true social builder must have, the head of the scientist, the hand of the farmer, and the heart of the religious devotee.

## **Dwight Sanderson—Social Scientist**

*By Carl C. Taylor†*

It is my conviction that Dwight Sanderson was one of the most scientific sociologists of all time. That this is not more widely recognized is probably due to two things—that he worked in the field of rural sociology with which so-called "high power" sociologists are not too familiar, and that the vast majority of sociologists have not been concerned primarily

with the patient and painstaking type of work required to develop a science. Sanderson came into the field of sociology with a training and experience in exact science and brought with him not only an appreciation but an exact knowledge of scientific methods. He began immediately, and never ceased, to use that knowledge and training in social research and in his teaching and writing. A discussion of his research work needs to be preceded by somewhat of a recital of the

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

theories and methods by which all of his efforts were directed.

His first theoretical wrestling with the problem of social science was in his doctor's dissertation, *The Rural Community: The Natural History of a Sociological Group*, published in 1921,<sup>1</sup> and in his first sociology research bulletin, *The Social Areas of Otsego County, New York* (with Warren Thompson joint author), published in 1923.<sup>2</sup> His most systematic presentation of theory and methods was, "Group Description" and "A Preliminary Group Classification Based on Structure."<sup>3</sup>

For 25 years he worked systematically to make a definitive contribution to the development of scientific sociology, presenting his theory of scientific methods in various articles, in the research of himself and students and in his graduate seminars. Fortunately, his location at an Agricultural Experiment Station, where he could do field social research, made it possible to practice what he preached and a large body of graduate students not only made it possible for him to train them in scientific methods but guide them in a great many concrete field studies.

Sanderson believed that the first step in any scientific analysis is "to describe and classify phenomena" and last step is "a consideration of the significance of scientific findings for

constructive use." He did not, however, confuse or even mix, means and ends in either his thinking or work. The means is science and science is method; the ends is human welfare and depends on science, plus many other things. He believed that one need have no difficulty in selecting fields for social analysis which are also areas of social welfare. Once such a field is selected, even specifically because it is an area of social welfare concern, it must be analyzed by the most rigid and valid methods of science. Immediately after he entered the field of sociology he began wrestling with the issues of what are the basic social phenomena and how can they be scientifically analyzed. He believed that "forms of human association," groups, constituted basic social phenomena, were significant in human welfare and were susceptible of scientific analysis. He set himself the task of making a systematic contribution in this field. Because his laboratory was rural life or rural society he worked on the analysis of rural groups.

He did not attempt to delimit completely the field of sociology but starting with two concepts which are, so to speak, axiomatic, viz., "The objective of any science is a description of its phenomena" and, quoting Lundberg, "The explanation of social groupings and their behavior as groups is generally regarded as the basic problem of sociology,"<sup>4</sup> he set the issue as follows: "Until we take the trouble to describe different kinds

<sup>1</sup> The University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series, Vol. II, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 422 (July, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> *Social Forces*, XVI (March, 1938), 309-19, and XVII (December, 1938), 196-201.

<sup>4</sup> "Group Description," *op. cit.*, p. 309.

of groups with the same care that a biologist describes a species, genus, or family of plant or animal life, we shall fail to have any adequate understanding of the nature of groups."<sup>5</sup> He had much earlier written, "If we are to have a scientific knowledge of these (human) groups, we must first be able to identify them, which will involve a knowledge of those characteristics of structure which make possible their identification.<sup>6</sup> In "Group Description" he elaborated on this necessity of identification but showed that it was only the first step in accurate and analytical description. His generalized statements were, "The discovery of the categories which encompass the various characteristic forms of group behavior and their logical arrangement, is a task which must be undertaken before we can have a complete outline of group description. . . . As in other sciences, the purpose of description and classification is not mere taxonomy, but to bring out differences of structure associated with differences of behavior which will enable us to better understand the behavior and to be able to predict what it will be under given conditions." The basic categories of group description presented in this article<sup>7</sup> were: I. Identity, II. Composition, III. Inter-group relationships, IV. Intra-group relationships, V. Structure and mechanism. From 3 to 13 sub-categories were

listed under each broad category for the purpose of guaranteeing precision of identification and description and comparability in various analyses.

In his article, "A Preliminary Group Classification Based on Structure," and in his and Foster's, "A Sociological Case Study of Farm Families," Sanderson revealed clearly that he was concerned primarily with scientific methodology, not with a philosophical or reform doctrine of society. In the latter article he said, ". . . we have taken the position held in a previous paper (Scientific Research in Rural Sociology) that sociology is a study of human association and factors influencing the evolution, development, structure, and functioning of the various forms. Under this term 'forms of human association' we would include not only various types of groups, but also the established forms of human association created by these groups, including human institutions such as marriage, naturalization, burial, and so on. . ." Thus was undertaken a study of farm families which included their classification into "types" by means of careful description.<sup>8</sup> This was typical of all of Sanderson's research. No sociologist was ever more consistent and more persistent in using what he believed to be methods of analysis which would help to build a body of scientific knowledge.

That he did not select groups as the objects of his research merely because he thought he saw an easy way to analyze them by the methods

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (September, 1927), 181.

<sup>7</sup> "Group Description," *op. cit.*, pp. 318-19.

<sup>8</sup> *The Family*, XI (June, 1930), 107-14.

of science is indicated in the first book he wrote *The Rural Community*, published ten years after it was written. He stated a welfare purpose as his objective. He said, that his "object" was "to secure a knowledge of the forces and principles which influence the formation, persistence, and decline of various types of locality groups,"<sup>9</sup> but he also said "The form of the rural community changes, but a locality which makes possible the satisfaction of their primary interests is essential for the social organization of an agricultural people."<sup>10</sup> During his professional career he studied and stimulated the study of other types of rural social groups but his consistent and systematic study of rural locality groups was a demonstration of type of work and specialization which explained him as a scientist. In the twenty-five years he was head of the Department of Rural Organization at Cornell University, he was author or joint author of 13 field research studies, 8 of which were studies of various aspects of rural locality groups. Probably most outstanding among these was, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*, which was published midway in his career as a sociologist.<sup>11</sup>

It is more a commentary on other sociologists than on Sanderson that he came to be thought of as one who was interested only in locality groups

<sup>9</sup> *The Rural Community* (Ginn and Company, 1932), p. v, preface.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 666.

<sup>11</sup> Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 559 (Ithaca, New York, May, 1929).

and especially in the rural community. I knew him exceedingly well and think I know exactly why he specialized so sharply. He was interested in the analysis of other than community locality groups and was deeply interested in other than structural analysis. He was, however, convinced that sociology would never gain the rank of science by argument; that it would not develop on the basis of episodic research, in the process of which each researcher selected an object of passing interest and attempted to study it by some new and clever methods of analysis. He was convinced that the basic and well tested methods of science were usable in analyzing social phenomena but it would require detailed, painstaking work to accomplish such analyses and thus require specialization on the part of sociologists. He selected social groups as his special object of study, largely narrowed his field to community and then further narrowed it to rural local<sup>12</sup> groups. Because he did this, no rural sociologist, and probably no sociologist, has in the last 25 years made so concrete and detailed a contribution to the science of sociology as he did through his own work and that of his students.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See especially: *Locating the Rural Community*, N. Y. State Col. of Agric., Cornell Reading Course for the Farm Lesson 158, (Ithaca, N. Y., June, 1920), pp. 415-36; with Warren S. Thompson, *The Social Areas of Otsego County, New York*, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 422, (July, 1923); with C. R. Wasson, *Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in the State of New York*, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 555, (April, 1933); *Social and Economic Areas of Broome County, New York*, 1928, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul.

Because he decided to make his own major contribution in the field of structural analysis he very early decided to secure for his staff at Cornell others who would be specialists in functional analysis. He believed that functional analysis could best be done by social psychologists and he thought of social psychology as a separate social science which required specialized training. He had very early said, "I emphasize this confusion between sociology and social psychology because the lack of specialization has resulted in giving us mere-

559, (Ithaca, N. Y., May, 1933); with W. G. Mather, Jr. and T. H. Townsend, *A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, New York*, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 608, (Ithaca, N. Y., June, 1934); *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 614, (Ithaca, N. Y., June, 1934); *Ecological Units of Rural Organization, The Human Ecology of a County*, Social Science Research Council Bul. 12, (New York, March, 1933), pp. 15-36; *Locating the Rural Community*, Cornell Ext. Bul. 413, (Ithaca, N. Y., June, 1939); *School Centralization and the Rural Community*, Cornell Ext. Bul. 445, (Ithaca, N. Y., September, 1940); with Harold F. Dorn, *The Rural Neighborhoods of Otsego County, New York*, 1921, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 2, (Ithaca, N. Y., March, 1934); with S. Earl Grigsby, *The Social Characteristics of Erin—A Rural Town in Southern New York*, Cornell Univ. Agric. Exp. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 10, (Ithaca, N. Y., August, 1943). Glenn Almer Bakum, *A Social Study of a Rural Area in Tompkins County*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell University, (Ithaca, New York, Sept., 1928); Raymond E. Wakeley, *The Social Areas of Schuyler County, New York*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., 1928); Irwin T. Sanders, *The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., 1938); Douglas Ensminger, *Diagnosing Rural Community Organization*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., June, 1939).

ly a lot of interesting and more or less valuable generalizations concerning group behavior, but few general principles based upon exact observations and capable of scientific verification. . . . In considering the objectives of research in sociology, I would therefore distinguish sharply between sociology as the science of the forms of human association, their structure and origin, and social psychology as the science of human behavior."<sup>13</sup> It was, however, his conviction that only by specialization that exact analysis could be accomplished which led him to separate sociology and social psychology. In his final book, however, he said, "Social psychology is . . . the partner of sociology in the study of group life. . . ."<sup>14</sup> He therefore stimulated research in social psychology and made great use of it in his general analysis of rural life.<sup>15</sup>

Proof that he was interested in other than the locality aspects of group behavior and interested in other than structural aspects of groups is to be found in the other five (than locality-group studies) of his own thirteen research bulletins and is still more ample in the writings

<sup>13</sup> "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (September, 1927), 182-3.

<sup>14</sup> *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1942), p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> See "Studies in Rural Leadership," with Robert W. Nafe and Sanderson, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII (1929), 163-75; also the following chapters in *Rural Sociology*, op. cit.; 25, "Class and Caste in Rural Society"; 26, "Social Interaction in Rural Society"; and 27, "Social Change and Social Trends in Rural Society."

of persons who worked under his guidance.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, all of the

<sup>16</sup> See especially Sanderson's *A Survey of Sickness in Rural Areas in Cortland County, New York*, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Memoir 112 (Ithaca, N. Y., March, 1929); with Chester R. Wasson, *Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in the State of New York*, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 555 (Ithaca, N. Y., April, 1933); *Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status*, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Memoir 200 (Ithaca, N. Y., February, 1937); with W. A. Anderson, *Membership Relations in Cooperative Organizations*, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 9 (Ithaca, N. Y., April, 1943); *Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression*, Social Science Research Council Bul. 34, (New York, 1937); "The Relations of the Farmer to Rural and Urban Groups," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXII (1928), 100-110; with Robert W. Nafe, "Studies in Rural Leadership," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII (1929), 163-175; "Changes in the Farm Family," *Religious Education*, XIX (February, 1924), 22-31; "Science and the Changing Modern Family," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXXII (October, 1930), 810-818; and "Trends in Family Life Today," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXIV (April, 1932), 311-321. Harold C. Hoffsmmer, *The Relation of Cities and Larger Villages to Changes in Rural Trade and Social Areas in Wayne County, New York*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ. (Ithaca, New York, June, 1929); Hashem Amir Ali, *Social Change in the Hyderabad State in India as Affected by the Influence of Western Culture*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ. (Ithaca, N. Y., Sept., 1929); Mrs. Alice Belle Salter, *Membership in Certain Youth Organizations as Affecting the Behavior of High School Students, Cedar Rapids, Iowa*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., Jan., 1939); Amy Agnes Gessner, *Selective Factors in Migration in a Rural New York State Community*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., Sept., 1939); Duane L. Gibson, *Membership Relations of Farmers Milk Marketing Organizations in New York State*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., Sept., 1940); J. Edwin Losey, *Membership Relations of a Cooperative Purchasing Association*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y.,

locality-group studies dealt with the functional as well as the structural aspects of these groups.

The only other social group to which Sanderson gave any considerable part of his research time and talent, and to which he gave detailed attention in his teaching, was the rural family. A whole article in this issue is dedicated to his contribution in that field, but I want to show here how thoroughly and systematically scientific his work was in that field. He and Foster, in 1929, set forth "An Outline of the Sociology of the Family" and suggested what they thought would be significant research in this field.<sup>17</sup> In 1930 they presented an outline for family case studies which they prefaced with the statements, ". . . we have taken the position . . . that sociology is a study of the forms of human association and factors influencing the evolution, development, structure and functioning of these various forms"; and "In outlining the sociology of the monogamic family from the above viewpoint we suggest types of families based on (1) structural elements, such as size, sex and age; (2) legal types; and (3) types based on internal relationships, such as sub-groups, relations of dominance or concensus, and common and divergent activities." The outline, or out-

Sept., 1940); and William M. Smith, Jr., *Participation of Rural Young Married Couples in Group Activities*, Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., (Ithaca, N. Y., Sept., 1942).

<sup>17</sup> *The Sociology of the Family*, by Sanderson and R. G. Foster, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta., New York, Mimeo. Bul. 1, (December 1, 1929).

lines, presented were prescriptions for observing, classifying and analyzing one family after another in a systematic and, they believed, a scientific way.<sup>18</sup> Sanderson later set forth his conviction about the necessity of doing research in the family by such a method. He said, "If sociological science is capable of making any significant contribution to our knowledge of family life, it must first establish definite categories of description, it must then devise and test means for obtaining data accurately, and finally it must find means of establishing the frequency with which given phenomena occur with relation to certain conditions before its generalizations can be usefully applied."<sup>19</sup>

This is as good a place as any to comment on why Sanderson did not follow along with the statistics cult which was so prevalent, especially in the early days, of his sociological career. He knew that it was imperative in social analysis to "establish the frequency with which different phenomena occur with relation to certain conditions," but apparently did not believe, as is often asserted, that "in the social science statistics is the analogue of science." Nor did he believe that statistics, or any other method of quantification was itself either the first or last step in scientific analysis. It could not help to identify significant group phenomena and could not completely describe

their composition, inter-relationships, or structure. It might help on some of these but is inadequate for complete group description which is the *sine quo non* of scientific analysis. He encouraged some statistical research but only when it served the ends of more accurate and complete description than could otherwise be accomplished.

The fact that he named the department which he headed at Cornell, "Rural Organization," probably lent further credence to those who believed Sanderson was interested only in social structure. This was not true even though in a semi-popular article he once described "rural organization as the science of rural life."<sup>20</sup> His department did extension as well as research work and he believed that sociology's greatest contribution to social action and welfare is its knowledge of social organization. He entitled his basic textbook, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, and stated his purpose to be a consideration of "the objectives and methods of rural sociology as a science, and its relation to social organization as a means of advancing the welfare of rural people."<sup>21</sup> I think this may be taken as his reason for giving his department the same title as he did his textbook. He believed and promoted science but believed that rural sociology should be more than scientific research. He believed

"A Sociological Case Study of Farm Families," by Sanderson and R. G. Foster, *The Family*, XI (June, 1930), 107-14.  
"Sociological Analysis of the Family," *Social Forces*, XII (December, 1933), 230-236.

<sup>18</sup> "The Science of Country Life," *The Cornell Countryman*, XIX (November, 1921), 39.

<sup>19</sup> *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, op. cit., p. 9.

that effective rural organization required the contributions of other sciences than rural sociology and that welfare depended on more than sociology and all other sciences combined. I submit that this too is characteristic of a great scientist, none of whom attempts to make a complete religion or philosophy of science, much less of his own specialized science. Sanderson personally wrote the sentence, "The primary aim of rural sociology is the improvement of the conditions of the people on the land," which appears in a joint report on social research.<sup>22</sup> He asserted in one of the last things he wrote, "Fundamental research is sterile, its value unproven, without its application."<sup>23</sup>

He was always interested in human welfare and even though incurably scientific in theories, methods and practices of research, lent himself and attempted to translate his scientific knowledge, even his scientific techniques into instruments of social action. His writings in the fields of action are almost as ample as in the field of science. Not only were the results of research bulletins presented in useful extension pamphlets and papers presented before action groups, but he made his methods of analysis available to those who wanted to make practical use of his knowledge of group organizations and

<sup>22</sup> *The Field of Research in Rural Sociology*, by Sanderson, Carl C. Taylor and C. E. Lively, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., (October, 1938).

<sup>23</sup> "Sociology as a Means to Democracy," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (February, 1943), 8.

group behavior. His first published book in sociology, *The Farmer and His Community*, was for practical use<sup>24</sup> and his *Leadership for Rural Life*, was literally a manual for rural organization leaders.<sup>25</sup> His and Polson's (R.A.), *Rural Community Organization*, had large sections which serve this same purpose,<sup>26</sup> and one of his earliest articles was on "An Extension Program in Rural Social Organization."<sup>27</sup> A few years later he spoke to the same organization on "Present Opportunities of Land Grant Institutions in the Field of Rural Welfare."<sup>28</sup> He was the first Secretary and later President of the American Country Life Association. He wrote at times for the *Survey* on rural social work and on social organizations.<sup>29</sup> Probably the thing in which he had right to the greatest satisfaction was the use made of his studies of rural locality groups by the Regents Inquiry in New York State in 1935-36. He and his colleagues had made many studies on the location and size of natural rural areas, some studies of rural villages and he had written a Rural School Leaflet as early as 1922 entitled, "Map Your School District." He did all of these things because he was convinced that

<sup>24</sup> *The Farmer and His Community*, (Harcourt Brace and Co., New York, 1922).

<sup>25</sup> *Leadership for Rural Life*, (Associated Press, New York, 1940).

<sup>26</sup> (John Wiley and Sons, 1939).

<sup>27</sup> *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations* at New Orleans, 1921.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 48th Convention, 1934.

<sup>29</sup> See *Survey*, XXXXII (May 17, 1919), 282-293; and XXXXVI (May 21, 1921), 240-241.

"research without action is sterile." In later years Sanderson became interested in the application of science to larger areas of social behavior, to regions and to regional and even national planning. He recognized a region as quite a different group than those upon which he had done most of his research, in fact was not sure that a region is a group. He thoroughly understood the ecologists' and even the anthropologists' concepts of a region but found neither of them adequate. He commented that, "Sociology may probably use both these concepts, as well as those of other social sciences. But if the region or district is to be a sociological concept, it must be more than these and it must have the characteristics of a sociological group."<sup>30</sup> When proven to be such and clearly defined he would believe it could and expect it to be scientifically analyzed.

His comments on planning are equally interesting and consistent. In Rural Sociology he said, "There is fundamental need to change our attitudes toward social change from one of desire for absolutes to a willingness to regard life as an adventure and to try social inventions with the experimental attitude of science."<sup>31</sup> In another place he had said, "Science grows by discovery, invention, and generalization, which is subject to the test of experiment and the criticism of opposing theories. Out of this comes an accepted body of knowledge. In the planning process we need the

same procedure. First, research to get the facts; then discussion of the conclusions by competent authorities; then executive action."<sup>32</sup>

I believe I can conclude this memorial article to Dwight Sanderson—Social Scientist—by selecting statements of his which appeared at widely varying times and places but which are so consistent one with the other as to validly reflect the consistency and scientific integrity of his work and life. Let me try and let the reader be the judge.

"Until we can come to some agreement as to the nature of the fundamental phenomena with which we are dealing, there is little probability of any rapid advance in the science of sociology."<sup>33</sup>

"Sociology is the study of human association and factors influencing the evolution, development, structure, and functioning of the various forms."<sup>34</sup>

"The objective of any science is a description of its phenomena. . . . Until we take the trouble to describe different kinds of groups . . . we shall fail to have any adequate understanding of the nature of groups."<sup>35</sup>

"As in other sciences, the purpose of description and classification is not mere taxonomy, but to bring out differences of structure associated with differences of behavior which will enable us to better understand

<sup>30</sup> "Questions for Sociology," *Social Forces*, XIII (December, 1934), 177-179.

<sup>31</sup> "Sociology as a Means to Democracy," *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> "A Sociological Case Study of Farm Families," *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> "Group Description," *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 641.

the behavior and to be able to predict what it will be under given conditions.”<sup>36</sup>

“As I see it the object of social research in rural life is to discover systematically the structure and processes of existing rural society and the principles of social organization, as a means whereby farm people may be able to readjust their institutions and to gain an intelligent control over their social environment.”<sup>37</sup>

“There is fundamental need to change our attitudes toward social change from one of desire for absolutes to a willingness to regard life as an adventure and to try social inventions with the experimental attitude of science.”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>37</sup> *Proceedings of Fortieth Annual Convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges at Washington, D. C., (November, 1926)*, p. 170.

<sup>38</sup> *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, p. 641.

## Group Classification: Dwight Sanderson's Contribution\*

By Howard W. Beers† and John H. Kolb††

### I.

From the beginning of his career in sociology, Dwight Sanderson was committed to the conception of this discipline as a science of the forms of human association, thus taking his stand with the formalists.<sup>1</sup> As the so-called “formal” school came under attack, Sanderson admitted that sociology might indeed deal with phenomena other than forms of association, but “whatever else it may include,” he wrote, “sociology deals primarily with the phenomena of

groups or the forms of association.”<sup>2</sup> Earlier, he had written:

What are the phenomena which are the peculiar objects of attention of sociology, for rural sociology is simply the sociology of rural life. In general, they are the forms of human association, the various sorts of human groups. If we are to have a scientific knowledge of these groups, we must first be able to identify them, which will involve a knowledge of those characteristics of structure which make possible their identification. Then if we seek to know how these groups may be controlled, we must know how they act, how they behave. The first is the anatomy and taxonomy, or systematic classifica-

\* Kolb, the junior author, wishes it made clear that in the preparation of this paper, his was the consultative, corrective “role” rather than the creative, constructive one. The authors acknowledge also the helpful criticism of C. Arnold Anderson and Harold F. Kaufman.

† University of Kentucky.

†† University of Wisconsin.

<sup>1</sup> See P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928). Ch. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight Sanderson, “Group Description,” *Social Forces*, XVI (March, 1938). 309-319.

tion, of society; the latter involves its physiology.<sup>3</sup>

Sanderson's ideas about the social group were expressed in fewer publications and they have stimulated less response from sociologists than his views about the community and the family. In a bibliography of his sociological writings, only two of 94 titles refer specifically and solely to the social group.<sup>4</sup> In all of his work, however, the concept of the social group was implicit and fundamental. Probably no other sociologist has taken any single form of human grouping through such a sequence of research drubbings as did Sanderson in the studies of the rural community.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, some of the Cornell community studies were less ably conceived and executed than others, but they all expressed the idea that the rural community is a group, and that it requires scientific analysis.

Sanderson considered his two special articles on the group to be preliminary and tentative. Of the *outline for group description*, he wrote, ". . . (it) is offered . . . with the hope that others will show its errors and weaknesses and improve it."<sup>6</sup> Of the *classification* based on structure, he said, "it is offered merely to promote discussion and to incite others to make similar attempts."<sup>7</sup> He wrote

somewhat apologetically even in his last book—"These group descriptions will be incomplete and inadequate because of the limitations of our present knowledge concerning them. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

His work on the community has been taken up and is being advanced. A host of workers are moving ahead in the sociology of the family, but there has been no rush of students toward the group-classification idea. Probably the latter challenge to sociologists has not been accepted readily because there is great pressure on most social scientists to help in the immediate amelioration of conditions, and the criterion of success applied by laymen is facility in dealing with social problems, rather than persistence in the objective collection of minutiae to build a scientific classification. Science-building is, for the sociologist, as for workers in other disciplines, often relegated to "after office hours." This may account for the fact, that, for all his commitment to the theory of the social group, even Sanderson had to be content with publication of only the two papers that have been cited. By these articles, however, he moved boldly into the task of group description and classification.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (September, 1927), 181.

<sup>4</sup> W. A. Anderson, *Bibliography of the Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 15, (Ithaca, September, 1944), 24 pp.

<sup>5</sup> For a list, see W. A. Anderson, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>7</sup> "A Preliminary Group Classification . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 197.

## II.

Robert E. Park once said that he feared Sanderson's humanitarian drive was biasing his work as a scientist. Doubtless Park was deliberately testing a new students' capacity for polemics, but his suggestion was important. Sanderson, of all his contemporaries, had the most thorough and systematic preparatory experience in natural science. On the other hand, he was strongly moved to human kindness. In his earliest years as a sociologist—and previously as a recognized entomologist—he disciplined himself and his students rigorously to objectivity. He had no patience with careless thinking and inaccurate description, and he wrote, "Until we take the trouble to describe different kinds of groups with the same care that a biologist uses to describe a species, genus or family of plant or animal life, we shall fail to have any adequate understanding of the nature of the group. How far would zoology advance if students merely talked about sparrows, bugs, or squirrels, with no exact description?"<sup>9</sup>

In his later years, although still the objectivist in research, it seemed to his students and associates that he gave more attention to projects of humanitarian focus, such as community organization, rural church and school problems, and rural health and welfare. Undoubtedly the fact that these were also the years of the Great Depression and its aftermath

had much to do with the mellowing of his sociological habits.

It has been stated even recently by entomologists that Sanderson would have become one of the half-dozen top-ranking men in their field had he remained in it. That he should leave entomology for sociology after passing through transitional periods of administration and graduate study is occasion for some wonder. It is certain that he did not "wash out," rather he was conspicuously successful in that field. Here it is important to recall that he was an *economic* entomologist. This specialization indicates that his pre-sociological orientation was a mixture of natural-science objectivity and of concern for human welfare. Economic entomologists are at the job of insect control; their sustained attention to scientific classification is means, not end.

Sanderson the entomologist was skilled in the use of keys. Thinking in terms of genera, families, species and varieties was automatic to him. Now the man who classifies insects has a task not much less staggering than the man who would classify social groups. The number of species already described is so great that to find one by searching a key is a major task, and large numbers of additional species are suspected to exist. Furthermore, entomologists have yet to reach enough agreement to standardize their classificatory systems. Individual entomologists now, although less than in Sanderson's day, have

<sup>9</sup> Dwight Sanderson. *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1942), pp. 806.

<sup>10</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *op. cit.*, p. 311.

wide license in the formulation of their keys. Their field—by the testimony of workers in it—is less advanced than any other biological discipline in the perfection of its taxonomy, although deliberate classification has been underway for nearly 200 years.

### III.

One problem confronting the social taxonomist is that a group can have no more separate existence within the larger society than a concentration of mycelia can have within a mass of fungus. In examining mold through a microscope, one sees a tangle of threads (hyphae), interconnecting on many planes and at many points. By adjusting the microscopic level delicately upward or downward, one brings into focus the threads at shallower or deeper planes. At no moment is the whole mycelial structure under view. By change of focus, specific portions are abstracted. Observation of groups, with numberless inter-personal connection (hyphae) requires analogous abstraction.

The orthodox methodology of induction involves formulating a definition, determining categories, then describing and classifying groups by those categories. There are many definitions, and they differ especially in their inclusiveness, of the "forms of human association."<sup>10</sup> Some are so broad that they comprehend all social interaction; others are more restricted. At this stage in the history of sociology, it appears that any definition is tentative. Sanderson found

none that he deemed adequate, but chose Eubank's formulation as a working hypothesis, assuming it also to be compatible with Znaniecki's theory.<sup>11</sup> He observed that the concept now serves in sociology with the same generality that the concept "animal" serves in zoology—which comprehends everything "from protozoa to elephants."

In the first of his two articles, "Group Description," Sanderson stated the concern of sociology with forms of association, indicated the inadequacy of the definition of groups, argued for "scientific description of groups," reported the work of his seminars on groups, presented a five-fold set of categories for description of group structure, presented the Boy Scout troop as an illustrative case, and closed by asserting that there was also need for categories to use in describing group behavior.

#### Outline for the Description of Groups (Abridged)

##### I. Identity

1. Group limits (exclusive, restricted, inclusive), 2. Entrance and exit (voluntary, involuntary),

<sup>10</sup> See Earle E. Eubank. *The Concepts of Sociology*. "A group may be regarded as entity, of two or more persons, in active or suspended interaction." p. 163. Quoted in Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *op. cit.*

Sanderson's last published definition of the group is: "A group consists of two or more people between whom there is an established pattern of psychological interaction; and it is recognized as an entity, by its own members and usually by others because of its particular type of collective behavior." *Rural Sociology . . . op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *op. cit.*

by election), 3. Identification of members (name, garb, insignia).

## II. Composition

1. Size (number and kind of elements), 2. Homogeneity, 3. Stratification, 4. Permanent or shifting membership.

## III. Inter-group Relationships

1. Independent, 2. Federated, 3. Chartered, 4. Degree of dominance.

## IV. Intra-group Relationships

1. Forms of interaction between members (personal or impersonal, representative, fiduciary; contacts, frequency and character of; participation, forms and degree of, quality or type of; solidarity; group control of behavior of members; folkways and mores; language; place and role of certain individuals).

2. Spatial Relationships (area, density, place of meeting).

3. Temporal Relationships (temporary, continuous, seasonal, history).

## V. Structure and Mechanism

1. Leader, 2. Sub-groups, 3. Aim, 4. Code of behavior, 5. Means of consensus, 6. Means of developing morale, 7. Institutionalization, 8. Mechanisms for maintenance or preservation, 9. Physical basis or essential physical equipment.

In the second article, "A Preliminary Group Classification Based on Structure," Sanderson offered a three-category scheme of classification, in the form of a key.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "A Preliminary Group Classification . . . ,"*op. cit.*

## Preliminary Structural Classification (Abridged)

### I. Involuntary

A. Blood relation, kinship. B. Locality, C. Incidental contiguity (1. Temporary, 2. Continuous), D. Cultural, Non-territorial, E. Citizenship.

### II. Voluntary

A. Unorganized (1. Personal, 2. Impersonal)

#### B. Organized

1. Leader dominant

a. Informal

b. Formal

ba. Leader an adult outside of group.

bb. Leader a director of coordinate participating group.

bc. Leader employed as director (bca. church, bcb. project-organizing group, bcc. character building and cultural).

bd. Leader in control of group behavior but subject to higher authority. (bda. Leader elected by group, bdb. Leader appointed).

#### 2. Leader not dominant

A. Exclusive (a. Honorable, b. Fraternal, c. Patriotic, d. Social, e. other special interest).

B. Restricted (a. to those agreeing to conform, b. to part owners of group property).

C. Inclusive (a. position of officers nominal, b. act through officers).

### III. Delegate

- A. (Federations, B. Legislative Conventions, C. Temporary Congresses).

Paradoxically, in the determination of categories by induction, description begins before one is ready with any nomenclature by which to record it. The language evolves during the search for it. The classifications Sanderson presented were the outgrowths of many student-prepared descriptions of groups, submitted in seminars. A comparison of the notes kept by one of the authors of this paper, who was a member of the seminar in 1933, with Sanderson's articles published in 1938, shows that many changes were made in the outlines during this five-year period. Additional changes in the description outline will be ventured below in this paper, although they must be considered only partial and tentative.

### IV.

An old problem in scientific classification is the dilemma of dichotomy versus continuum. This is particularly acute in sociological description, because the attributes of groups do not exist in either—or alternatives. Hence, a special need for tools of measurement. Contemporary sociological literature includes many reports of efforts to measure such attributes as class position, sociation, participation, attraction, social intelligence, social insight, social adjustment, and socio-economic status. The names of many of these attributes appear in Sanderson's outlines, and theirulti-

mate acceptance or rejection for purposes of classification may rest upon their measurability.

Another problem is that of deciding upon the elemental attribute of grouphood. Is it size? Several sociologists have concluded that the dyad is the elemental group.<sup>13</sup> This is a decision in terms of number of persons. But what about the possibility of a decision in terms of number of bonds, or types of relationships among the members regardless of the number of members?<sup>14</sup> Lundberg's sociometric suggestion for an "atomic" system of classification is not to be put aside lightly as over-simplification. Postulating an "atomic" group of two persons attracted, repulsed or indifferent to each other, he (with Dodd) proposed that each cell in a combination-permutation matrix be a category for use in the classification of groups.<sup>15</sup>

A name for the behavior of a person as a member of a group is "role," and every person has more than one role.<sup>16</sup> One man acts the role of teacher in the classroom, brother in the lodge, father in one family group, son in another, husband in the marriage pair, and so on. Nor are these roles simple or unitary. The role of teacher may comprehend various component sub-roles, such as father surrogate, intimate friend, counsellor,

<sup>13</sup> Howard Becker and Ruth Hill Useem, "Sociological Analysis of the Dyad," *American Sociological Review*, VII (February, 1942), 13-26.

<sup>14</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, C. J. Galpin. *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930), I, Ch. VI, p. 305 ff.

disciplinarian—each sub-role usually, perhaps always revealing the existence of a sub-group. A member, then is a person who has a role in the group—who participates segmentally in the behavior of the group. Role is thus a sociological equivalent of one division in a "division of labor". A role is one's "occupation" within the group.<sup>17</sup>

Is not role then, a component of structure? A unique aspect of any structure is the specific set of relationships that give it form, and the specificity of relationships is revealed in the roles of members.<sup>18</sup> Only a segment or segments of a person are involved in any group; no group commands the totality of a person. This segment is a role, unitary or plural. Some roles will be common to all members of any group, other roles will be acted only by some of the members. Some roles will be acted regularly, others sporadically or intermittently. The important thing is that a role is an item of group structure.

The elemental group, thus, might be that in which there is but one unitary type of role acted by each

<sup>17</sup> George A. Lundberg, "Some Problems of Group Classification and Measurement," *American Sociological Review*, V (June, 1940), 351-360.

<sup>18</sup> This line of reasoning has been developed in the writings of George H. Mead and his colleagues and students. Cf. Leonard S. Cottrell, "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," *American Sociological Review*, VII, p. 370-382.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ralph Linton, *The Science of Man* (D. Appleton-Century, 1936), Ch. VIII.

<sup>20</sup> The meaning of relationship in this context is that of "interact" as Cottrell defined it. See Leonard Cottrell, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

member. Such a group might have only two members, or it might have a larger number. The intriguing thing about this idea is that it permits classification in terms of the sociological essence of a group, rather than in terms of a demographic correlative (the population of the group) or a genetic correlative (manner in which membership originates.) The old difficulties are replaced by new ones, however. What are the names of the various unitary roles? What are the possible general types of unitary roles? What combinations of unitary roles are found in recurrent complex roles? Certain procedures of description used in job analysis may prove suitable for emulation in role analysis.

The foregoing discussion may now be supplemented by specific proposals for modification of Sanderson's outline for group description, in accord with the letter and the spirit of his invitation.

In the outline Sanderson proposed five primary categories: (1) identity, (2) composition, (3) inter- and (4) intra-group relationships, and (5) structure and mechanism, with a partial elaboration of secondary and tertiary categories. To what extent did he meet the canons of classification: reference to one principle, mutual exclusion and total coverage? Clearly, the five categories all refer to characters of the group, and thus satisfy the first requirement.

By identity, Sanderson meant to include the characteristics that "delimit a group", give it "a sort of

boundary," or set "it off from those who do not belong." There is a slight error of connotation in the use of "identity," (which implies sameness) rather than "characteristics permitting identification," or some such word as discreteness, but more important is the failure of this concept to be exclusive of its four co-ordinates in the proposed classification. Are not composition, inter-group relationships, intra-group relations, structure and mechanism all used in the identification of a group? However, the sub-categories suggest an appropriate replacement for identity. The first two, "group limits" and "entrance and exit" both refer to the origination and termination of membership. Incidentally, neither of these is an aspect of structure, but a specification of how the structure comes into and goes out of being, and is replenished or depleted. The third category, "identification of members," may be rephrased, "symbols of membership," and withdrawn to that later portion of the classification in which Sanderson referred to mechanism. Hence the category, "inclusiveness" referring to origination and termination of membership may be proposed to replace "identity."<sup>10</sup> This is clearly exclusive of the other coordinate headings, and comprehends two of the three secondary categories proposed by Sanderson.

<sup>10</sup>A well developed classification of types of admission and dismissal is presented by P. Sargent Florence, Ch. XIX, "The Framework and Data of Statistical Politics," *The Statistical Method in Economics and Political Science*. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1929).

Of these two secondary categories, the first, "group limits", Sanderson characterized as exclusive, restricted or inclusive. It is difficult, however, to see that there is any important difference between "restricted" and "exclusive". In any event the possible types of exclusiveness or inclusiveness are adequately denoted by the specifications of eligibility used to describe entrance and exit. This reduces the problem of tertiary subclassification to that of designating the categories of origination and termination of membership. Membership may or may not be consequent upon birth; if not, it may originate with an application from a prospective member, or by the group's invitation to a prospective member, or it may be granted by a group in consideration of qualities or actions of the person, or a person may be drafted or compelled to join, or there may be some mixture of these classes of entrance. Under each of these tertiary categories there may be need for other subordinate series setting out the types of eligibility. Such a set of concepts appears to have advantages over the categories voluntary, involuntary, and by election. The corresponding secondary category, "exit", comprises such varieties of termination as death, resignation, lapse of participation, completion of term, dismissal, and mixtures of these types.

Upon first examination, the next primary category, "composition", appears to be both relevant to the basis of the classification and exclusive of its coordinates. It refers to the num-

ber and character of the persons who are members, i.e., participate segmentally, or act roles in the group. It refers even to certain personal characteristics that relate to the group only indirectly. The secondary category, size, is specific, and should not be complicated by the question of "elements" as posed by Sanderson. The "delegate" or "representative" type of membership is described more appropriately under structure, a later heading. The next secondary category, homogeneity, by its reference to age, sex and other attributes overlaps an earlier one—group limits. Actually, this category means identity or lack of identity in total personality among the members. Since this cannot be known except in terms of the specific attributes of members, however, and since age, sex, and other attributes are comprehended earlier under eligibility, "homogeneity" is not needed as a sub-category under composition. The third sub-category, stratification, pertains to intra-group relations, which is another main heading, and thus cannot properly be subsumed under composition. The fourth sub-category, permanency of membership, is relevant, but is covered by the foregoing descriptions of entrance and exit. In revision, therefore, the second primary category in the classification may be replaced by "size", and the problem of sub-classification is then merely one of deciding upon classes of size.

The third primary category (inter-group relationships) seems also to be relevant and exclusive, but it might

be more precisely stated as "position", i.e., the social position of the group within the larger society. (Some students may wish to consider describing two types of position; rank and functional). The one type of relationship used by Sanderson under this heading is autonomy, and his four sub-categories could be adjusted to make three: independent, semi-dependent, dependent. But other sub-categories are needed here: position in space, (area, density, meeting place); position in time (age, duration, continuous or discontinuous); rank, or social class position instead of what Sanderson named social isolation (distance between members and non-members); reputation; demographic position (proportion of population having membership, e.g., majority-minority; frequency—e.g., numerous, rare). An important component of social position, also, is role; the role of the group as a unit in the larger society. Cultural milieu is added as a .other item.

The fourth primary category, intra-group relationships, is the most sociologically relevant of all the five that Sanderson proposed. It is this category under which the essence of the group as a social structure is comprehended. For this reason it is here suggested that the phrase, intra-group relationships, be replaced in the outline by the word "structure." It will be noted that Sanderson's inclusion of structure in his fifth primary category, "structure and mechanism," relates to both structure of the group and structure

*used by the group* (tools, machinery).

By adjustment under the newly proposed category, social position, two of the sub-classes used here by Sanderson, (spatial relationships and temporal relationships) have been transferred, leaving only "forms of interaction among members," which is really a synonym for "structure of the group." Hence, the problem of sub-classification becomes one of determining the appropriate types of relationships, or bonds among members, or, in other terms, their roles. However, the meaning of structure needs clarification. In his second outline—that for structural classification, Sanderson gives primary importance to the manner in which membership comes about. But if one includes the *way a group is formed*, is it any less appropriate to include the *way a group functions*, as a criterion of structure? Actually, Sanderson included categories of group formation, true structure (forms of association), social objects (symbols), and activities (processes, functions) in his structural outline. A decision must be made as to whether or not the concept of structure is as embracive as this, and the problem seems to involve more than a word trick.

The fifth primary category for use in group description Sanderson called "structure and mechanism". This is a compound category, and a modification here proposed is that sub-categories in the fourth and fifth major divisions be re-distributed so that the structural parts and objects are sub-

sumed under the rubric, "structure," which then becomes the fourth primary category. Thus we have reached the crux of the problem of group classification.

Sanderson considered his first outline as an attempt to provide for description of group structure, although he asserted the need also for description of group behavior.<sup>20</sup> The five main headings were considered to be mutually exclusive characters or approaches to a description of groups. The second outline was a concrete framework for classification by structure.<sup>21</sup> For such a classification, the main headings should (and do) represent different degrees or qualities of the same characteristic. As indicated above, however, many of the categories in the first outline do not pertain specifically to social structure, some of them describe behavior. Moreover, the relation of the original outline for group description in terms of structure to that for structural classification is somewhat irregular. Throughout the whole *structure* outline, sub-categories are found in positions quite different from those they held in the *description* outline. The primary categories of the "classifica-

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<sup>20</sup> "Apart from some specific social structure that is taken as the standpoint, the use of distinctions such as transactions and procedure is not merely meaningless but confusing. Hence, the importance of a consistent preliminary structural analysis." Florence, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

<sup>21</sup> One error of notation may be observed in the *structure* outline, where capital-letter designations appear under II B, 2—"leader not dominant". Headings A, B, C under 2 (and their subcategories) should each be designated with one further subordination than that specified.

tion" (involuntary, voluntary, delegate) are drawn from 23 secondary headings in the "description." This is permissible only by application of some rationale establishing a hierarchy of importance among characters. The rationale in plant and animal classification is phylogenetic priority. There is little if any evidence of a comparable principle in the Sanderson outlines. In revision, effort should be made to arrange parallel sequences of concepts in the two outlines, or in effect, to draw the *structure* outline integrally into the *description* outline. A reasonable objective now is to reconstruct the latter outline so that it comprehends both structure and behavior, and contains within itself the requisites of complete keys, whether structural, behavioral, or both. Hence, it is appropriate to assemble the behavior items (from Sanderson's original outline) under a sixth primary category, "action" (behavior). Sanderson himself proposed a first sub-category by referring to behavior within the group, and to the behavior of the group toward others. The first of these may here be called "intra-action" and the last, "intergroup-action."

#### Suggested Modification of Sanderson's Outline for Description of Groups

#### I. INCLUSIVENESS

##### A. Entrance

1. By birth
2. By application
  - a. Eligibility (specific, non-specific)

##### 3. By invitation

- a. Eligibility (specific, non-specific)

##### 4. By grant

##### 5. By draft

##### 6. Mixed types

#### B. Exit

##### 1. By death

##### 2. By resignation

##### 3. By lapse of participation

##### 4. By completion of term

##### 5. By dismissal

##### 6. Mixed types

#### II. SIZE

##### A. Number of members (minimum, average, maximum)

#### III. POSITION

##### A. Role (specialization within larger society)

##### B. Cultural Milieu

##### C. Rank

##### D. Reputation

##### E. Autonomy

##### F. Position in space (area, density, meeting place)

##### G. Position in time (age, duration, continuous-discontinuous)

##### H. Demographic position (majority-minority; numerous-rare).

#### IV. STRUCTURE

##### A. Membership element (individual, corporate)

##### B. Membership roles (number, classification)

##### C. Organization

##### 1. Explicit, implicit, both

##### 2. Hierarchical, functional, line

- a. Elaboration of sub-categories differentiating types of leadership systems needed here

3. Unitary or multiple (constituent groups)
4. Special organs

#### D. Morale

##### E. Impersonal Social Objects

1. Collective representations
  - a. History: recorded or heard say
  - b. Purpose: declared or understood
  - c. Folkways: elaborate, simple, none
  - d. Ritual: elaborate, simple, none
  - e. Rules: documented, traditional
  - f. Distinctive language: elaborate, simple, none
2. Instruments
  - a. Insignia: elaborate, simple, none
  - b. Materiel: elaborate, simple, none
  - c. Media of exchange
  - d. Power agencies

#### V. ACTION

##### A. Intragroup-action (within the group)

1. Participation
  - a. Communicative (person to person) or non-communicative (person to object)
  - b. Active or passive
  - c. Intimate or casual
  - d. Whole or segmental
  - e. Competitive, conflictive, cooperative
  - f. Regulated or non-regulated
  - g. Frequent or infrequent (constant or occasional)
2. Organizing

3. Agenda (service to members)
4. Objectification (acts creating or developing the structural social objects itemized under IV-E above)

##### B. Intergroup-action (behavior of the group toward others)

1. Participation
  - a. Active or passive
  - b. Whole or segmental
  - c. Competitive, conflictive, cooperative
  - d. Regulated or non-regulated
  - e. Frequent or infrequent
2. Agenda (service to non-members)
3. Acts creating or developing position
  - A-H. (sub-categories as under III above)

The revised outline is an attempt to advance the task of group description by re-selecting and regrouping categories to comprise a more exhaustive system of more exclusive items, comprehending what Sanderson called *behavior* as well as what he called *structure*. At many points the suggested revision does not get into tertiary and lower subordination, which must, of course, be developed before the outline can be considered complete. The construction of suitable classificatory systems awaits the perfection of descriptive procedure, hence no specific revision of Sanderson's structural classification is attempted here. The task is important, however, and it deserves the attention of sociologists engaged in research.

Only a cautious and partial critique of Sanderson's treatment of the so-

cial group has been feasable in the time available for the preparation of this paper. More deliberate consideration of the outline modifications here suggested may reveal their inadequacy. They do, however, point out features of Sanderson's outlines that need reconsideration, and they show certain lines of adjustment by means of which suitable revision can be undertaken.

The recognition of merit which this article accords to Sanderson's work on the classification of social groups is a testimonial to the man and to the idea. A prominent implication is that sociologists at many places and for a long time in the future will take part in the development of a taxonomy of groups. Their continuing effort will be, in the current postwar idiom, a "living memorial" to Dwight Sanderson.

## THE FAMILY

*By Robert G. Foster†*

Dr. Dwight Sanderson was a scientist and not a propagandist. In attempting to evaluate his contribution to the field of the family it is both necessary and illuminating to look at his entire career. Here was a man well trained in the biological sciences and one who had made an outstanding success in his chosen profession at the time he definitely moved into the field of Rural Sociology after having completed his work for the doctorate in this field at the University of Chicago. I say that Dr. Sanderson was a scientist and not a propagandist because his main approach to the study of the family was a scientific one with a fine feeling for what needed to be done in making sociological contributions to the family practical and useful, but at the same time under-

standing that no ultimate improvement could be made unless it were based upon a sound scientific foundation. In all of his sociological thinking he was concerned with the group and the social organization of society, utilizing whatever knowledge was available from the cultural and psychological fields, but not as has been the case of some sociologists, taking either of these as the basic approach for the development of a science of sociology.

Sanderson saw the field clearly. He recognized man as a biological organism operating within a cultural milieu and developing varying types of personality manifestations depending upon the interplay of the biological within the cultural. His emphasis along this line never faltered. He did not assume that sociology as a science should be concerned with anything

† Head, Family Life Department, The Merrill-Palmer School.

under heaven which had to do with the nature of society. It was his dream that some day someone might evolve a body of sociological research which would form the basis for a better understanding of the family group and thereby make it possible for the social worker, the home economist, the extension worker and others to deal in a more effective and practical way with family needs and problems than he could ever do without such a science. It has been said that psychiatry is the application of a basic science which does not as yet exist, meaning that before psychiatry can attain its fullest peak of practical accomplishment it must be based upon a science of personality from an holistic point of view and such a science as yet does not seem to have been developed. It is probably fair to say that many of the practical fields such as social work, home economics, extension, rural sociology and others are attempting to deal with the family group, but do not have any basic sociological science of the family upon which to base its practice. This, it seems to me, was what Sanderson was driving at in his continuing efforts in the development of a sociology of a family first formulated in printed form and published as a Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Mimeograph Bulletin No. 1, in December, 1929.<sup>1</sup> Let us quote briefly from the point of view

presented in this formulation of his general theory.

The goal of science, from the critical point of view, is the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, and not for the practical use of mankind. This would seem to follow by necessity from a purely descriptive or existential nature of its facts, and also from its inability to explain them by assigning their causes.<sup>2</sup>

This point of view does not in any sense deny the practical results which accrue from the findings of the many sciences nor the indirect gains to science that have been derived from the fields of technology, but it must still be maintained 'that the impersonal attitude of science, and the limitations which the search for accurate knowledge lays upon science would still require a single-hearted devotion to knowledge for its own sake.'<sup>3</sup>

It is to this concept of science that sociology must measure up if it is to be a science and not a body of philosophical theory or a synthetic technology. 'Man's increasing success in his control over nature is due to a clear understanding of the different problems involved, to a distinction between ends and means, between applied science (technology) and fields of theoretic inquiry, and between scientific method and philosophic method. The work is done on the principle of differentiation and specialization in the field of theoretic inquiry and integration and co-ordination in the field of practical application. Nobody, for in-

<sup>1</sup> Dwight Sanderson and Robert G. Foster, *The Sociology of the Family*, Department of Rural Social Organization, Cornell AES B 1, (Ithaca, New York, Dec. 1, 1929), mimeographed, pp. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> H. P. Weld, *Psychology as Science*, (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1928), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> H. P. Weld, *Psychology as Science*, (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928), p. 18.

stance, confuses the problem of how to build a bridge with the very different issue whether or not the bridge is desirable.'

The problem of how to build a bridge is a problem of applied science. It involves the integration and the coordination of the knowledge obtained from a great many different fields of scientific inquiry, but nobody confuses a problem of bridge building with a problem of theoretical mechanics.

Within the fields of theoretic inquiry there is a sharp distinction between philosophic and scientific method. Nobody confuses the problem regarding the ultimate reality of matter with the problem regarding the relative tensile strength of steel and iron. The different natural sciences . . . are all based on a common method, the scientific method and . . . there is a far going specialization and division of labor.

There is in the social sciences no common agreement as to method and no distinction between scientific and philosophic inquiry. There is utter confusion between means and ends, between practical problems and problems of theoretic inquiry . . . There is little specialization within each field; and a lack of uniformity in method. The problem regarding the means is a problem of applied science. It involves the integration and coordination of the knowledge made available by a great many different . . . sciences . . . In the world of social phenomena, 'practical or technological' problems are confused with problems of theoretic inquiry. Within the fields of theoretic inquiry there is no sharp distinction between

the philosophic and the scientific method.<sup>4</sup>

Philosophy 'and social ethics' are still rampant in the so-called social sciences.<sup>5</sup> Not that there is no place for philosophy and ethics, but to confuse them with the science is unpardonable. 'Economics has been dominated for a century by speculations about values and by mental gymnastics with the concepts of land, labor and capital which are comparable only to the scholastic antics with the true, the good and the beautiful. There is still in most social scientists an irresistible urge to become a social philosopher. This tendency . . . leads to trouble if the philosophic results are taken for science.'<sup>6</sup> There is also in most social scientists a suppressed desire to become social reformers and saviors of their fellowmen. A deep-felt sympathy with suffering humanity, a chivalrous tendency to take the side of the 'under dog', and an impatient desire to improve conditions quickly apparently give them a 'will to believe' in remedies which resemble too much our patent medicines to inspire complete confidence . . . This tendency to philosophic interpretation and this will to believe in simple remedies spring . . . from an emotional appeal with which no scientific analysis can compete. . . and whatever the beauty and value of these products of the human mind, they do not give . . . a type of knowledge on which an

<sup>4</sup> Geo. Spykman, *The Social Theory of George Simmel*, (Univ. Chicago Press, 1925), Preface, pp. VII-IX.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IX.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IX.

applied science (or 'technology') can be built.'

The above quoted material included in the *Sociology of the Family*, and setting forth pretty much the general basis upon which Sanderson attempted to formulate a sociology of a family seems to be as sound today as it was when he attempted to stimulate thinking along more scientific lines in this field. Evidence of the chaos in studies of the family was as true when Sanderson undertook his work as it is today. This is shown by the fact that there are hundreds of little questionnaire studies made by research workers designed to find out some practical bit of information which can be used in a particular situation. However useful these types of studies may be, they are still in the same category for the most part as the detailed things which a contractor has to do in undertaking to build a highway but cannot in any sense be labeled science. Facts are not in and of themselves science. Facts scientifically obtained and so organized that they support or deny certain hypotheses about family structure, function and elements which affect these may become the basis of scientific generalizations. Not only did Sanderson see that we have these piddling studies which are not oriented within the framework of any scientific structure but even worse, most of them are never retested by others in different parts of the country nor with different classes of the population to give them the kind of

validity necessary to the building of an adequate science of sociology. Many of these single isolated questionnaire studies are being quoted endlessly in textbooks just as though the findings were valid and students or professional workers could safely use these findings as the basis for scientific generalization.

Sanderson as can be seen, did not believe in this kind of science nor this kind of use of research findings. He wanted studies related to a methodology of research which over a period of years would eventually build a science upon which practical education, medicine, home economics, etc., could safely rely. He again emphasizes this point when he says:

If the family is to be studied as a group, that is from the point of view of sociology as a science, it will be necessary to differentiate sharply between scientific research and technological investigations of the family. It would be a comparatively simple procedure to set down a large number of 'problems' of the modern family, and set up methods for investigating them with a view to their solution. To do this would ignore the more fundamental truth needed, if sound solutions are to be formulated. A person who is indisposed may easily indicate where the pain or other symptom is located and take aspirin to relieve it quickly. But suppose the patient is suffering from an abscess at the base of the brain. The continued use of aspirin will not keep the patient from a slow and painful death although it allays some of the aching. This analogy seems perti-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. IX-X.

nent to the case at hand. Writers are profuse in their statement about the maladies affecting the modern family and with superficial suggestions for aspirinic remedies. If the family can be nursed along on sedatives awhile, until a more thorough diagnosis is made, the subsequent treatment may prove more beneficial and the patient better able to cope with new life experiences as a consequence. But the real need is for a diagnosis which will reveal the causes of disorganization by means of a more scientific technique of group analysis.<sup>8</sup>

The essence of his contribution to our thinking may be summed up in the questions raised in his original formulation of the Field of Sociology of the Family where he says:<sup>9</sup>

The problems that arise in studying any group such as the family are:

1. What structure is involved?
2. What are its functions?
3. How do changes in structure affect its functions?
4. When called upon to function differently what changes in structure occur or what elements of structure persist without function?

Here we have in specific form what was later discussed by him with more mature thinking at the round table of Rural Sociology section of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, June 26, 1933. This article

<sup>8</sup> Dwight Sanderson and Robert G. Foster, *The Sociology of the Family*, Department of Rural Social Organization, Cornell AESB 1, (Ithaca, New York, Dec. 1, 1929), mimeographed, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

which appeared in the December issue of *Social Forces* entitled "Sociological Analysis of the Family" gives the last formulation of Sanderson's thinking and should here be quoted:<sup>10</sup>

My present conclusion is that a logical basis for the description of the family, or any other group for that matter, must recognize that the family is composed of individuals with established and characteristic forms of sociation, such as domestic interaction, dominance, tension, confidence, consensus, etc., but that these forms of behavior always involve physical things or physical acts which are essential to the functions of the group. The house or domicile is not simply a feature of the environment which conditions the behavior patterns of the family, but it is an essential part of these behavior patterns because the maintenance of the domicile is an essential function of the family group. As the effort to establish and maintain the family domicile decreases, the act in patterns involving associative processes also decrease, for the objects of association are thereby decreased. If we accept the Binkleys' domestic theory it would seem obvious that there will be less opportunity for domestic interaction in a family living in a hotel apartment with all services furnished and with few objects of common attention and few common activities within the home, than in a household requiring domestic interaction for its maintenance. As long as we have bodies and live in a physical world, human association is

<sup>10</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Sociological Analysis of the Family," reprinted from *Social Forces*, XII (Dec., 1933), p. 235.

not on a purely psychological or spiritual plane, but involves an interplay of attitudes, an interaction, toward or about things which is essential to the maintenance of the particular form of association concerned . . .

If sociological science is capable of making any significant contribution to our knowledge of family life, it must first establish definite categories of description, it must then devise and test means for obtaining the data accurately, and finally it must find means of establishing the frequency with which given phenomena occur with relation to certain conditions before its generalizations can be usefully applied.

Sanderson's first contribution to the field of family was therefore an attempt to establish the framework within which scientific thinking should proceed. His second contribution was that of having graduate students under his direction undertake studies which would demonstrate the validity of this approach to scientific research. A brief summary of these investigations follows:<sup>11</sup>

The Department of Rural Social Organization commenced research on the sociology of the Family in 1928 with a study of the literature and research on the subject made by Robert G. Foster, under a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund. This was issued as mimeograph Bulletin 1, The Sociology

of the Family, December 1, 1929. This was followed by a field study of 80 farm families made by Mr. Foster and reported in his doctoral dissertation, 'Types of Farm Families and Effects of 4-H Club Work on Family Relations', June, 1929. (For a summary, see Sanderson and Foster, 'A Sociological Case Study of Farm Families'—The Family, June 1930, pp. 107-114). Miss Lemo T. Dennis, as a research fellow of the National Council of Parent Education, then commenced a somewhat similar study of urban and rural families which formed her doctoral dissertation, 'A Descriptive Study of Family Relationships from the Viewpoint of Child Guidance and Parental Education', September 1931.

In 1929 Howard W. Beers made a field study of 232 families on 'The Money Income of Farm Boys in a Southern New York Dairy Region' (Bulletin 512, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, September 1930). This was followed by a similar study of about 1200 boys and girls throughout the state made by questionnaires circulated through teachers and 4-H club agents. The results were published in Bulletin 560, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, May 1933. Mr. Beers subsequently in 1935 completed the study entitled 'Measurements of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York'. This investigation published also by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station as Memoir 183 attempted the use of various statistical techniques in understanding relationships within the farm family.

<sup>11</sup> "Conference on Family Research," Cornell University, January 13, 1933, Report of Discussion, Department of Rural Social Organization, New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, p. 548.

Another contribution to method was that used by Sanderson in analysis of autobiographical studies made by students in classes on their own families. Miss Mildred B. Thurow, under a fellowship of the Social Science Research Council, completed in February, 1935, as Memoir 171 of the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station "A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Autobiographies." All of these studies done by the Department of Rural Social Organization under the direction of Dr. Sanderson were attempts on his part to build up substantiating materials to his general thesis that there must be evolved a scientific sociology of the family as a basis for all practical work and teaching in this field.

Sanderson made three other contributions to the field of the rural family which I am including at the end of this paper not because I think they are unimportant but because I feel that his major contribution was that just formulated in the preceding pages of this article. It is recognized, of course, that the original study done by Sanderson on standards of living of farm families in Tompkins County and later developed more completely by E. L. Kirkpatrick in his book *The Farmer's Standard of Living* was a real contribution to standards of living studies which had been made up at that time. Their insistence upon a differentiation between levels of consumption and standards of living was significant, in addition to the methods and techniques developed later by

Kirkpatrick in his standards of living studies.

Sanderson also made a contribution in the field of teaching. A great deal of what had been taught particularly in the rural sociology field and in sociology as a whole, as far as that goes, was mostly traditional social problems of the family or historical aspects of the development of the family from a sociological point of view. I feel that Dr. Sanderson made a real contribution in developing courses at Cornell which attempted to get at the real interests and needs of the students from the standpoint of their pre-marriage as well as marriage interests and family relationships. Not only did he develop these courses of a practical nature but he also, I think, pioneered in attempting to bring together into a closer teaching relationship the other specialists on the campus from psychology, home economics, etc. His efforts, I believe along with the co-operative efforts of others involved at that time, were the forerunner of what today constitutes a coordinated and integrated piece of teaching in the field of marriage and family on the Cornell campus.

A third contribution and the last I shall mention, consisted of his writings and contribution to the literature. Although he finally published books in the field of rural sociology and rural community organization and nothing in the field of rural family, he did contribute many articles to professional journals dealing with this whole field of the farm family, thus stimulating interest and think-

ing along the direction along his own particular point of view. I am sure had Dr. Sanderson lived and worked in this field a few years longer he would have probably finished and published a book dealing with the farm family. He had prepared a great deal of mimeograph material bringing together facts from the fields of anthropology and other sources which he used in connection with his teaching. These chapters showed the usual thoroughness with which he approached any problem and would have made a significant contribution to the literature on the field of the family had it been completed.

It is difficult to review the contributions of a man with so many diverse interests, but one outstanding regret seems to cling to my mind with reference to Sanderson's contribution to the field of the farm family. He did formulate a sound scientific framework within which research should be done. He did, through his various students and his own writings, demonstrate the validity of his point of view and some of the ways in which research material should be accumulated and used for the purpose of ultimately filling in the content of this theoretical framework which he had formulated. The unfortunate note, however, in my estimation, lies in the fact that as far as I

am aware, none of his students have carried on his attempt at developing a sociological science applied to the family. Most of them have become involved in modern practical technological endeavors of one sort or another, and although I do not wish to discredit the subsequent efforts and contributions of these various people, it would almost be possible to say that there is hardly one who is devoting his life to the field of science in continuing and further developing the idea of sociological science of the family as formulated by Sanderson throughout his career.

For those of us who had the pleasure of working with and under the direction of Dr. Sanderson, I think we shall never lose the emphasis which he placed upon basing practical endeavor upon scientific knowledge. Even this may be a valuable continuing contribution which he may have made through his students, even though as a whole, none of them seem to be specifically carrying on his zeal and quest for scientific knowledge in the same sense that he did. It is to be hoped, however, that his emphasis in the field of the family will not be lost because of the immediacy of many of the practical problems on which rural sociologists and others are working today.

# The Concept of the Community

By Douglas Ensminger† and Robert A. Polson††

Dwight Sanderson came to the field of rural sociology with a strong interest in the application of the methods of science to the social problems of rural people. His years of experience as a zoologist and agricultural experiment station administrator undoubtedly influenced his interest in developing scientific classification systems and descriptive techniques applicable to social phenomena.<sup>1</sup>

One of his chief contributions in the field of rural sociology was the accurate description of the rural community as a social unit. His doctor's thesis at the University of Chicago was a study of the rural community and his early research projects at Cornell University were a continuation of this interest. Soon after he arrived at Cornell he initiated a long

series of research projects on delineating community areas.<sup>2</sup> Sanderson, his colleagues, and his graduate students at Cornell as a result of this extensive series of studies, developed methods of analyzing the local spatial organization of rural societies. Rather precise methods were developed for identifying communities, neighborhoods and describing the relationships between locality units of various size.<sup>3</sup> In these studies attention was given to the types of services furnished rural families by various sized community centers and the influence of larger centers upon the

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Federal Extension Service, U.S.D.A.

†† Cornell University.

<sup>1</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942), p. 12. "As the chemist describes atoms and molecules, and their combinations and how they behave, and the biologist describes species, genera, families, and orders, their structure, physiology, and mode of life, so the sociologist in a manner adapted to his subject matter must describe the composition, structure, and behavior of the various forms of association recognizable in human society . . ." "The primary effort of rural sociology as a science should be the accurate description of the phenomena with which it deals, namely, the forms of association in rural society, the family, the community, the church, the school, the lodge, and the numerous organized societies and informal, unorganized groups which are becoming more numerous in modern rural life."

<sup>2</sup> In cooperation with C. J. Galpin of the United States Department of Agriculture, Sanderson undertook one of the early cooperative studies between the State Experiment Stations and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in rural sociological research. Similar projects were initiated in Wisconsin by Kolb, in Missouri by Morgan, in North Carolina by Taylor and Zimmerman, and in Washington by Yoder. However, Sanderson carried on a more extensive series of studies than any of the others who cooperated in this early work. *The Social Areas of Otsego County*, Cornell AESB 442 (Ithaca, New York, July, 1923), was the first of this series. Warren S. Thompson, now head of population research at Scripps Foundation was joint author of this bulletin. For a good historical account of the development of community research see: Editor Ralph Linton, *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), chapter by C. C. Taylor, "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applied to Modern Civilized Societies."

<sup>3</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*, Cornell AES B 614 (Ithaca, New York, June, 1934), pp. 100. A Summary publication of the studies on community delineation.

smaller nearby rural units. He measured and described the influences impinging upon community centers changing the nature of their services to people.

### Developing the Concept of the Community

While Sanderson was thought of as being more interested in the analysis of social structure than in analyzing social processes, his definition and treatise of the community was highly psycho-social. He looked at the community as being in process of change toward larger service areas and thus altering the forms of associations between the people and between the people and their institutions in given space and time. He saw it in process and not as a static social structure. From a conceptual point of view, he viewed the community first as evolving from people living in association with each other. As these associations became concentrated within a given area, resulting in sharing common basic institutions, the area took on the character of a community.

Subsequently Sanderson defined the rural community as "that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the center of their common activities."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939), p. 50.

He further describes his concept of community and particularly the social dynamic that creates and maintains it as a unit of society as follows, "Furthermore, the community is not only a system of association between the individual persons and families within a given area but of their organizations and institutions to which the people often have a greater loyalty, a keener sense of belonging, than they do to the community. The real community is the devotion to common interests and purposes, the ability 'to act together in the chief concerns of life.' It consists of a recognition upon the part of individuals and their organizations of a common obligation to the general welfare. Thus the dynamic basis of the community is a common controlling idea, or ideal."<sup>5</sup>

Sanderson was very much interested in repetitive studies in order to measure the effects of social trends and to obtain data to accurately describe changes in the structure and functioning of rural communities. He followed up J. M. Williams' early study of Waterville, New York, privately published under the title *An American Town* in 1906, with re-studies in 1928, 1933, 1938 and was looking forward to another at the time of his death.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> W. G. Mather, Jr., T. H. Townsend and Dwight Sanderson, *A Study of Rural Development in Waterville, New York*, Cornell AES B 608, (Ithaca, New York, June, 1934), pp. 39. A restudy of Waterville was completed in 1945. H. E. Thomas, *A Study of the Impact of the War Upon a Rural Community*, a Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, June, 1945.

Although Dr. Sanderson's personal writings and research were largely in the field of the structure of the rural community, he had a real appreciation of the need for more knowledge of the social processes operating within the community unit. He encouraged his colleagues to apply the newly developed techniques of social psychology and statistics to the study of the locality units of rural society. On several occasions he urged the authors of this article to pursue research on the social processes whereby community leadership marshals public opinion to obtain consensus for action on public issues, and particularly community improvement projects. Toward the end of his professional career he was quite interested in the status group or social class analysis of contemporary communities. He recognized this phase of community analysis in Chapter 25, "Class and Caste of Rural Society" of his book, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*.<sup>7</sup>

### Applying the Concept of the Community

Rural sociology to Dwight Sanderson was a phase of the social science of sociology and subject to the rigid intellectual discipline of any science. He made a sharp distinction between the science of sociology and the technology of rural social organization. The latter was the art of applying

science to the solution of human problems. This he implies in the title and makes clear in the first two chapters of his last book, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*.

Dwight Sanderson's interest in developing the science of sociology did not lessen his concern for the solution of social problems.<sup>8</sup> In fact his research activity was motivated by his desire to see problems solved. However, he had a profound appreciation of the need for accurate information and an understanding of problems before entering the arena of social action.

Probably Sanderson's greatest contribution to the applied field came from aiding school people to gain a full understanding of the community as a functioning unit in society. The application of his research data on the delineation of rural communities played a significant role in New York State's rural school centralization plan. He worked extensively with school administrators and frequently advised them on the results of his research and how it applied to their plans. He advocated the careful location of new schools in those village centers that were the foci of emerging dominant communities. He promoted community use of school buildings and community use of school staff, vocational training programs

<sup>7</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 18. "All this knowledge of group life and of the factors conditioning it is of value only in so far as it will enable us to show how the social organization of rural life, the improvement of human relations, and satisfaction in the rural environment may be advanced."

<sup>8</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, Chapter 25. See also H. F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Cornell AES Memoir 260, (Ithaca, New York, March, 1944), pp. 46.

for rural youth, health services, instruction in music, dramatics and public speaking, and well developed school libraries open to the public.<sup>9</sup>

Sanderson also took an active part in working with religious leaders, aiding them in seeing the full potentialities of the community as a force making for a richer rural life. He advocated the application of his community research to the administration of rural church programs. Church leadership was encouraged to develop community larger parish plans, and to organize local clergy for inter-church cooperation.

The use of the community unit in the organization of the Extension Service programs was advocated throughout his career as a sociologist. Sanderson's title book, *Leadership for Rural Life*, was an attempt to interest extension workers and all people working in rural areas in understanding the sociology of volunteer leadership. Within his own department he encouraged his extension staff to engage in intensive community planning experiments involving the use of community councils, community surveys, and methods of diagnosing community problems. The emphasis was always on community analysis, not on schemes or formulas for organization. He believed thoroughly in fitting the plan to the community, not the community to the plan.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> E. T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*, Cornell AES B 699, (Ithaca, New York, June, 1938).

<sup>10</sup> Douglas Ensminger, *Diagnosing Rural Community Organization*, Cornell University Extension Bulletin 444, (Ithaca, New York, September, 1940).

### Projected Lines of Research

A careful analysis of past research on the community and its organization, to which Sanderson has been a major contributor, reveals several blind spots in our knowledge about the structure, functioning and changes occurring in rural organization. When we size up the job ahead and recognize the things we do not know about rural society we might be inclined to criticize what has been done. Such is not the thought the writers wish to imply. The type of research needed in the future is clear only because of the information past studies such as Sanderson's have revealed. Research and its findings are cumulative; each piece of research adds to and builds upon previous work. What we visualize as needed for the future has its roots in the past and stems from our present knowledge.

We suggest that the future orientation be rural organization, not merely community organization. This is in keeping with Sanderson's conceptions. He studied other groups than communities. Rural people are organized in many different patterns to make possible their participation, formal and informal in local and non-local activities, programs and services. It should be the function of research to discover, analyze and follow changes in all the patterns of rural organization, as well as study the structure of each group. This does not mean the community is being relegated to a less important position in our research. It does follow, how-

ever, that all other patterns of organization should be given more consideration and that we should look at the whole complex field of social relationships of which the community is only one, so that we can better see the arrangement and functioning of people in social space. It emphasizes the fact that inter-group relationships are equally or more important than the study of group characteristics.

This new orientation carries with it the implication that future studies must give more attention to the analysis of social processes. Here again is a point of view Sanderson was giving increasing emphasis to in his later years. It will call for greater use of psycho-social techniques of analysis. Such studies should be of increasing interest to lay leaders, educators, religious leaders, and administrators of action programs for they will not only reveal how society is put together (structure) but also how it operates (functions). If studies are well done they will reveal ways and means of more effectively working with rural people and influencing changes in education, religion, family, health, nutrition or government.

Just what would such studies entail? Always there must be a starting point. We have to agree upon some segment of society for analysis. In the past we have delineated communities and studied the structure and social relations of the delineated area. Less frequently have we studied relationships between communities and

the forces of the larger society which interact and impinge upon them making for change, conflict and frustrations.

Since the county is becoming more and more of a dominant force in rural America and is itself one unit of organization, it might be well to explore the possibilities of starting with the county as a universe of study. We could then proceed to discover the patterns of social relationships which express themselves within the arbitrary boundaries of the county. Countywide social relationships and functions such as government, education, agricultural programs and agencies, health programs, county-wide organizations, etc., should be described and analyzed in the meticulous ways Sanderson definitely studied the rural community. Having seen the county as a unit we should next proceed to look "inward" to discover all the basic patterns of organization. We should discover and delineate geographic groups, clearly reveal the nature of the social stratification, find out how people organize on a formal basis, understand the significance of informal groupings or cliques and the part each plays.

There are several reasons for taking the county as the unit. First some consideration should be given the consumers or potential consumers of our research. Most of the agencies serving and working with rural people have county offices with an administrative charge to serve all the county's population. Second, the long-time trend is for the county seat town

to increase in its position of dominance.<sup>11</sup> By starting with the county as our unit of study we start where the "agency people" start. If we consider all the major patterns of social organization and do an adequate job of analysis, showing relationships, then our research will be focused to meet their needs. From the point of view of the researcher there will be nothing unnatural in this approach.

Third, one of the significant trends in rural America, in urban areas as well as rural, is the increasing number of organizations for special purposes. While many of these are community centered in that they draw membership from the community area, many are also county- or area-wide and are organized to attract only highly interested individuals. These organizations are playing an increasingly important role in such fields as policy determination. Many of them have state and national affiliations and are extremely well organized. A significant number of these groups are strictly local and came into being to meet a specific need. These may or may not be long-lived. To fully understand the significance of these groups we must go beyond the boundaries of the community. We must do more than mere listing and describing of these organizations, nevertheless thoroughly accurate description of each is necessary. Studies should reveal not only who participates but why. Of great concern is

that segment of our rural society which does not now participate in organized group life. Studies of special organizations would be incomplete if they did not shed light on why some people participate and others do not.

Fourth, since the long-time trend in rural organization is for the county seat town to increase in social importance, we will, if we take the county as our unit of study, be better able to follow this trend and see the relationships of outlying communities of the county seat. The county seat town might be considered the focal center of the universe studied, unless it is not the main organizational center in the county.

If it were not for the complexity and thus the need for keeping the study area to manageable proportions, we could select a larger area made up of a major city and service center for the adjacent rural communities. Such a study unit would make it possible to delineate and classify the major specialized service and organizational areas and more fully understand the human relationships of the rural community as it functions as a part of the great society. In selecting the county as our study unit we must operate on three levels of rural organization analysis—county, within the county and beyond the county.

Research geared to a further analysis of social relations—arrangement of people in social space—needs to be broader than the geographic community. By looking at the social structure first as it shows itself on a wider

<sup>11</sup> Exceptions are those rather rare instances where the essential services are concentrated in some center other than the county seat.

basis such as a county and then to look at community similarities and differences should reveal some of the most significant things about rural life. It is important that future studies in rural organization give consideration to class structure. We know that class structure is significant in influencing organization participation, change, leadership and explains differences in values.

Only recently have the rural sociologists begun researching on social values. Clearly this is an area of great importance; knowledge of the basic values goes far toward understanding why people think and act as they do. Our future research, therefore, should reveal more about rural beliefs about farming, family life, religion, education, science, government, etc.; more about the attitudes people have toward rural life and industry; and more about the ever-increasing sources through which people get information and are influenced. In our quest for an understanding of the social organization within the county we should study the dominant values and see how they are related to the different social interest groups, communities, and the class structure.

During recent years there has been an upsurge of interest in making opinion surveys. These have revealed what people think about given fields of inquiry. They do not, however, tell why people think as they do. For the Extension Service and other agencies who seek to induce culture change we must go beyond what people think

and find out what elements in the culture explain why people hold the attitudes they do. To induce change we do not start with changing the attitude but rather with changing the elements in the culture which produced the attitude.

Past studies of leadership have given too much attention to the leader as an individual. Sanderson emphasized that leadership is a social phenomena. We need to look to future studies of leadership as a part of social process. Here is an area where sociologists can make a real contribution in aiding those who seek to influence or change habits of rural people, for leaders hold the key to cultural change. We should find out who are the leaders, making sure that we have located both the leader of conspicuous position to casual observers and the one who works inconspicuously from within the social structure. We should seek to learn how these people established themselves i.e. positions of leadership and to what status groupings they belong, also their ability to work with and influence people in other status groupings.

Without going into further details, what we have outlined should reveal the basic patterns of rural organization within the county—covering the range from county and community organizations and government to informal groupings. Next we should seek to find out how change occurs. It is within this area that the next major contributions should be made. This will be possible only if we have adequately done the first job.

When studying cultural change we should be interested in its nature and extent to be sure, but of equal if not more importance is to know how it was brought about. Sanderson was ever interested in learning about what changes were occurring and to learn their true significance. The two things can be done as a part of the same research process. First, record the nature and extent of change in such basic things as population, health, education, family and group relations, government, religion, and agriculture. Second, discover the forces influencing these social trends.

Change occurs as a result of forces from the outside and from within. For the outside forces making for change we can further assume there were carriers which influenced people's thinking, attitudes and values. We should therefore seek to discover what part formal organizations, including government agencies, informal organizations and leadership played. Having discovered the carriers and forces making for change, we will have revealed much about how new ideas can be inserted into rural culture and their effect upon the culture.

In analyzing the external forces making for change the county becomes particularly adapted as a unit for study, for it is more or less of a focal point through which many of the forces of the Great Society reach people. By starting with the county we can look within to see how outside forces impinge upon and secure participation of people and then look out-

side the county and see how local people express themselves in wider interests and issues and participate in nonlocally originated organizations.

The internal forces making for change may be very subtle but nevertheless very real. Such things as increased population pressure on the resources may result in gradual migration of the more capable and better educated youth. Failure to give adequate care to the soil may have the long-time effect of forcing a lower level of living. Whatever the forces are they need to be discovered and their effect upon the people and their patterns of living ascertained.

#### But What of the Future?

We must readily admit that there is a great lag between research findings and the application of science and this is particularly true in sociology. Why? There are a number of factors which contribute to this situation. The sociologists are themselves mainly responsible for this lag. Most of the present leaders in rural sociology are research trained—that is, research is their primary interest and focus. Few of them have had the interest or opportunity to put their theories and research findings to the test of social action. The result is talk in the abstract of the usefulness of sociological information by sociologists and an expressed feeling of disappointment on the part of the administrators that sociology is not practical.

A contributing factor is that our departments of rural sociology are to-

day primarily interested and equipped to train people in research methods. The net result is we continue to neglect the important assignment of training people in the application of the science.

Rural sociologists have in the past been far from agreement as to what an applied rural sociologist should do. Because this has been the case, rural sociology extension when viewed on a nation-wide basis is a hodgepodge. It is more misunderstood than understood. Altogether too many extension workers think a rural sociologist's major contribution is promoting recreational group activities.

As was true in analyzing past research, a careful look at our experiences in the applied field should give us some guideposts for the future.

Let us agree that the major focal point of rural sociology is social relationships—be it research or extension. In the applied field this should and must spell itself out in programs to put to work our knowledge of rural organization, social participation, social values, leadership and social change.

If sociology is to make the contribution it stands to make in the applied field, it must free itself from the present departmental project ap-

proach as now exists in extension and become a full partner of the extension team. As presently set up the sociologist is more inclined to ask the help of extension workers to do the things he has in mind rather than be asked by all extension workers to aid in the task of organizing and motivating rural people to accept and act upon extension teachings.

The sociologist should be able to analyze and interpret how rural society is organized and suggest the ways and means of tuning a program into the culture so as to gain acceptance and bring about change. He can do this only if he has the necessary theoretical background and concerns himself with the major task of aiding in the social organization, participation, leadership and social change problems of rural people.

What we in essence have said is, first, that all types of rural groups should be studied in the careful fashion Sanderson demonstrated, second, they should be studied "in process" as well as "in structure," and third, that they should be studied in their functional — interacting — relationships to each other. We have suggested that the county is an apt area, or laboratory, for study of all of them.

## NOTES

*Edited by Paul H. Landis*

### RELATION OF IRRIGATION TO POPULATION

The effect of irrigation on the total population of an area is of real importance in the planning of irrigation developments. Plans must be made for towns, schools, roads, churches, and other public and semi-public developments that will be used by the total population, rather than by the farm population only. Some of the benefits of irrigation accrue to these townspeople and if wisely planned, the irrigation development may well assess a portion of its costs to the nonfarm population supported by it. On the other hand, overly optimistic estimates of the number of nonfarm persons that will be associated with an irrigation development serve no useful purpose, and may lead to erroneous conclusions as to the worth of the development. This analysis seeks to bring out some of the existing relationships of population groups in irrigated and nonirrigated areas in the 11 Western states and to draw some conclusions from them.

Any attempt to use census data to study conditions in irrigated and nonirrigated areas immediately is complicated by the fact that there are very few counties in which all the farms fall in either category. In most of the 410 counties in the 11 Western states there are some irrigated and nonirrigated farms, the proportion varying greatly from county to county.

#### SELECTED COUNTIES

The total acreage in farms in 1940 was 255,605,636 acres and was made up of 93,316,209 acres in irrigated farms and 162,289,427 acres in nonirrigated farms. Thus there were 1.74 acres of land in nonirrigated farms per acre in irrigated farms. Recognizing the limitation of the data, a selection of counties was made, based on the ratio between the two groups of farms. A county was classified as nonirrigated if it con-

tained 10 times this ratio; that is, 17.4 acres, or more of land in nonirrigated farms per acre of land in irrigated farms. Conversely, a county was classified as irrigated if it averaged one-tenth or less of the ratio, 0.174 acres or less, in nonirrigated farms per acre in irrigated farms. The counties lying west of the summit of the Cascade Mountains in Washington and Oregon were omitted because of the humid climate of that area. This selection resulted in 79 irrigated and 40 nonirrigated counties.

Most of the counties were predominantly agricultural. In the irrigated group, 73 per cent of the persons employed in basic industries in 1940 were employed in agriculture. Persons employed in the following industry groups, as set up for the 1940 Census of Population, were considered as working in basic industries: agriculture, forestry and fishery, coal mining, crude petroleum and natural gas production, other mines and quarries, logging, sawmills and planing mills, and the manufacture of the following products: food, textiles, apparel, furniture, paper, chemicals, petroleum and coal, leather, stone glass and clay, iron and steel, nonferrous metals, machinery, autos and equipment, transportation equipment, and other manufacturing.

For the nonirrigated group, the proportion in basic industries was 77 per cent. Included in this latter group, however, were 2 counties, Marin County, California, and Spokane County, Washington, that are appreciably different from the others because of their large urban populations. Marin County is across the Golden Gate from San Francisco and many of its residents are employed in the city. Spokane County includes the city of Spokane, which serves as an important trading center for a large area in eastern Washington and northern Idaho. The omission of these two counties from the

averages raised the proportion of persons employed in agriculture to 88 per cent of all persons employed in basic industries in the 38 remaining counties.

#### SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

The ratio of workers employed in the basic industries to the workers employed in all other occupations, termed service occupations in this article, was selected as one measure for comparing the two groups of counties. In the 79 irrigated counties there were 1.03 workers in service occupations for each worker in a basic industry and in the 38 nonirrigated counties, 1.05 workers. Because of their large urban populations, Marin County, California and Spokane County, Washington, have been omitted from the averages. To minimize the effect of nonagricultural employment, ratios were calculated for the counties in each group in which the workers employed in agriculture represented 75 per cent or more of all workers employed in basic industries. For the irrigated group the average included 42 of the 79 counties and resulted in a ratio of 0.92 worker in service occupations per worker in a basic industry. For the nonirrigated group the average included 30 of the 38 counties and likewise, resulted in the same ratio, 0.92 to 1.0, as was obtained for the irrigated counties.

#### VARIATION

There was a wide range in the ratios among the counties in each group. For the irrigated counties it was from 0.31 to 5.66 workers in service industries per worker in a basic industry. For the nonirrigated, it was from 0.32 to 6.89. In view of this wide range, the difference between the two groups of counties is not significant. Expressed in other words, it does not appear that irrigated farming will support a higher ratio of workers in the various service occupations than will nonirrigated agriculture.

To test further the relationship between workers in basic industry, particularly irrigated agriculture, and workers in other occupations, ratios were computed for all

counties in California and Colorado, the two states with the largest acreage of land irrigated.

There were wide ranges in the ratios among the counties in each state. In California, the range was from 0.5 in Sierra County to 6.9 in Marin County. In Colorado the range was from 0.3 in Dolores County to 5.9 in Denver County. The average ratios for the two states were 2.6 and 1.9, respectively.

Those counties in which 75 per cent or more of the workers in basic industries were employed in agricultural work were considered predominantly agricultural. In these counties there were fewer workers in service occupations per worker in basic industry than in the nonagricultural counties. In the 18 California counties in the predominantly agricultural category there were 1.3 workers in service occupations per worker in basic industry. In the 38 Colorado counties predominantly agricultural, the ratio was 1.0 to 1.0. This does not mean necessarily that agriculture supports fewer service workers than other basic industry. Because of its need for land, agriculture is in the open country, whereas much manufacturing is carried on in urban areas which frequently serve as trading centers for agricultural as well as other basic industry groups. Thus these ratios calculated at county levels for the agricultural counties do not take into account the persons employed in service occupations in the major cities of the area and who serve persons on a regional or state-wide basis. The ratios for the individual states of the area averaged somewhat higher than the average ratio for the counties just discussed. They ranged from 1.1 workers in other occupations per worker in a basic industry in Idaho, to 2.6 in California. The ratio for the United States was 1.3 to 1. The ratio for the 10 Western states, excluding California, was 1.6 to 1. The number of workers in service occupations per worker in a basic industry is high in California because of the numerous service occupations catering to the vacation trade, retired persons, entertainment industry, etc.

### TOTAL POPULATION

So far, this analysis has dealt with employed workers and not with total population. There were 3.1 persons in the total population per employed worker in the irrigated counties and 3.0 in the nonirrigated group. These numbers are slightly higher than the 2.9 persons per employed worker average for the 11 Western states.

One other factor still is needed in translating the probable number of farms on a new irrigation development into the probable population of the area after the irrigation has become established. That factor is the number of workers employed in agriculture per farm. For the 11 Western states this ranged from 1.1 in Washington to 2.1 in California and averaged 1.5 for the area.

### BROAD RELATIONSHIPS

The variability of these data from county to county and from state to state suggest that considerable difficulty will attend any attempt to forecast the probable future population of an area to be developed through irrigation. The data do suggest certain broad relationships, however, and while it is recognized that they are subject to many limitations, they may prove of some value in the planning work connected with irrigation developments.

In the 11 Western states there were 1 to 2 employed workers in agriculture per farm. The average for the region, excluding California, was 1.3. The exclusion of California would seem justified in view of the public policy of encouraging small family-sized farms in contrast to the large corporation farm development that definitely influences the averages for California.

There are workers in the various service occupations for each employed worker in a basic industry. The number varied from less than 1 to almost 7 among the counties studied. The extreme variability of this relationship makes the selection of any one value exceedingly difficult. The average relationship in the 10 states (California excluded) was 1.5 workers in other industries per worker in a basic industry. The analysis

of this relationship in the counties that were predominantly agricultural suggests that 1.0 worker would be in the county where the basic industry was located and 0.5 worker in the major cities of the area.

For each employed worker there were 2.7 to 3.8 persons in the total population in the 11 Western states with an average of 2.9 for the region. In the 139 counties studied in detail, the average was 3.1 persons in the irrigated group and 3.0 in the nonirrigated group. These data suggest that 3.0 persons per employed worker might be an acceptable figure.

Summarizing these data, we arrive at the following general relationship between number of farms and population:

1. For each farm, 1.3 employed workers in agriculture.
2. For each employed worker in agriculture (a basic industry) 1.5 workers in service occupations. This means a total of 3.25 employed workers per farm.
3. For each new employed worker, a total of 3.0 persons would be added to the total population. This would mean 9.75 persons per new farm developed.<sup>1</sup>

These approximate relationships held for nonirrigated as well as irrigated farms and if nonirrigated farm units are broken up as a result of the irrigation development, the number so eliminated should be calculated and offset against the number of new irrigated farms.

This analysis has not dealt with density of population. This subject is complex enough to merit separate study. It is a subject not well adapted to analysis with data by counties. Some irrigated areas rep-

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<sup>1</sup> This figure is nearly 20 per cent lower than that of 12 persons per farm used by the Bureau of Reclamation in its Missouri Basin Report. See "Conservation, Control, and Use of Water Resources of the Missouri River Basin," Bureau of Reclamation, Washington, D. C., May, 1944, pages 9 and 10. The use of the more conservative estimate developed in this article would forecast a population increase of about 500,000 persons compared with the prospective increase of 636,000 envisioned by the Bureau of Reclamation.

resent small, compact settlements in the midst of desert areas. To compute the population of the county per square mile of total area would result in a relatively low density figure. In other cases, the major community of a small irrigated county may serve as the trading center for nonirrigated farms outside the county. One controlling feature in density of population in irrigated

farming areas will be the type of farming. In planning irrigation developments, the general type of farming for a particular development can be forecast with considerable accuracy if data on soil, climate, and markets are analyzed adequately.

ALEXANDER JOSS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics,  
Berkeley, Calif.

## CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber†*

### THE VIRGINIA POPULATION STUDY

Students of the problem have long felt that conventional population analysis has had too little influence on state planning and on public policy in general. Infused with imagination, it should help to motivate a democratic society to conserve and develop its human resources. Moreover, if population analysts are able to make reasonable forecasts, their work should be useful in actual planning for the extension of state services and facilities, as well as in the long range strategy of developing natural and industrial resources.

A long range study in Virginia will offer a test of this viewpoint. As early as 1939 a conference called by the Virginia State Planning Board led to a plan for a study of population problems by the Planning Board, to be coordinated with studies of land utilization by the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and of industrial development and opportunities by the University of Virginia. Main offices were established in the State capital at Richmond, the whole study was adequately financed and was able to build on previous citizen interest and to establish close relations with state agencies. Five reports have been issued by the population study.

The first two studies published were designed to help the state plan its programs to meet specific needs. *Trends in hospitalization for mental disease and mental deficiency*<sup>1</sup> prepared for the Virginia State Hospital Board was calculated to aid the board in estimating future needs. On the basis of first commitments to various state hospitals rates were analyzed by type of mental disease and for population groups by color. This was followed by a study of the population trends in the Hampton Roads Area<sup>2</sup> which by 1942 had already become the state's major problem zone. In this report John A. Clausen related population change to the economic changes that have taken place in Virginia's port area since 1910. Separate chapters are devoted to (1) population and employment trends from 1890 to 1940, and to changes and adjustment demand both in (2) the First and (3) the Second World Wars. The effect of the war on population composition is shown and community problems and the postwar outlook are presented especially as they refer to housing, recreation, and employment. For a scene of prosperity and full employment, "the human adjustment to the

<sup>1</sup> *Trends in Hospitalization for Mental Disease and Mental Deficiency in Virginia*. Prepared for the State Hospital Board. Population Study Report No. 1. Richmond, 1942. 63 pp.

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny, Barbara B. Reagan, and Edgar A. Schuler.

vicissitudes of rapid industrial expansion" presented a surprisingly dreary picture. Here was evident a need for planning that could not be met in the urgency of war.

In the third study, a contribution from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Allen D. Edwards related *farm family income and patterns of living*<sup>3</sup> to land types and employment off the farm in an attempt to evaluate factors influencing farmer's income in Henry County, an area in which manufacturing had become a more important factor than agriculture. The method used required the matching of census schedules of population, agriculture, and housing for the individual farm families with the Land Class of each farm as developed by the Department of Agricultural Economics at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Valuable conclusions were developed in both content and method. The amount of land in crops, land class, value of products grown for home use, and the amount of off-farm work were found to be important factors whose effect on farmer's income could be measured. Income was then related to family composition, fertility, mobility and the amount of education and housing. The study makes several contributions to method in the field of farm income studies.

Two succeeding reports on over-all population analysis are less concerned with planning or with contributions to method. Sara K. Gilliam's study treats of the *growth and distribution of the population of Virginia from 1670 to 1943*.<sup>4</sup> Chapters are devoted to (1) the total growth of the population from colonial times to the present, (2) urban and rural growth since the first census, (3) the trends by region since the Civil War, 1860-1940, and (4) changes in com-

<sup>3</sup> *Population in Flux. A Study of Population Trends in the Hampton Roads Area, 1890-1942.* By John A. Clausen. Richmond, 1942. 70 pp.

<sup>4</sup> *Farm Family Income and Patterns of Living: An Analysis of Original Census Schedules and Land Classification of Henry County, Virginia, 1940.* By Allen D. Edwards. Population Study Report No. 3. Richmond: Virginia State Planning Board, 1944. 83 pp.

position by age, sex, color and community size, closing with (5) an analysis of migration and its effects from 1870 to the present. This is presented in terms of regional and rural urban movement from 1930 to 1940. Fertility and mortality data are not discussed and no attempt is made to analyze replacement rates or to forecast future population.

In Gittler's *Virginia's People: A Cultural Panorama*<sup>5</sup> the study is carried forward by relating population to cultural and social indices. Chapter II devoted specifically to population analysis reviews the data on (1) recent changes, (2) population composition of race, sex, color and community type, (3) fertility, and (4) employment status both by race and by residence. Succeeding chapters relate population to housing conditions, education and educational status, recreation and social participation, and indices of personal and social disorganization. The last topic is developed by analysis of the figures on the extent of crime, probation and parole, juvenile delinquency and divorce. Some suggestions for planning are found in chapter summaries but "no effort is made to prove any thesis with the data presented". (p. 12).

Further developments in Virginia have included the relocation of the population study and renewed emphasis on popularizing the results of its studies. Headquarters have been moved from the State Planning Board to the University of Virginia and its organization has been integrated with that of the Bureau of Industrial Research. In its first publication, the new Bureau of Population and Economic Research has depicted *Virginia's economic pattern in a series of maps of selected eco-*

<sup>5</sup> *Virginia People: A Study of the Growth and Distribution of the Population of Virginia from 1607-1943.* By Sara K. Gilliam. Population Study Report No. 4, Richmond: Virginia State Planning Board, 1944. 132 pp.

<sup>6</sup> *Virginia's People: A Cultural Panorama.* By Joseph B. Gittler. Population Study Report No. 5, State Planning Board, 1944. 125 pp.

*nomic characteristics of counties.*<sup>6</sup> The counties are ranked according to 24 indices based on the Census of Agriculture, Manufacturers, and Population. Finally, popularization has been secured in a series of releases prepared by Director Lorin A. Thompson for publication in the University of Virginia *News Letter* and elsewhere. Contributions from the new Bureau include articles on (1) Virginia's pattern of industrial employment, (2) changes in occupational distribution, (3) population—employment changes since 1940, (4) the postwar labor force, and (5) postwar industrial planning for Virginia. Other studies in progress will present new methods in population analysis and new approaches in state planning.

RUPERT B. VANCE.

University of North Carolina.

John H. Kolb and Douglas G. Marshall, *Neighborhood-community relationships in rural society*, Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 154, 55 pp. Madison, Nov. 1944.

This research bulletin is perhaps the most important single contribution to our knowledge of neighborhood and community in America since publication of Sanders' and Ensminger's study of Chilton County, Alabama, back in 1940. Generalizations (and there are many) found in the report are ostensibly based upon systematic field surveys at 10-year intervals, 1921, 1931, 1941, in Dane County, Wisconsin. On the basis of careful studies over this period of 23 years Kolb and Marshall concluded that:

1. Neighborhoods in Dane County have come, some have gone, but the majority have remained active for over twenty years.

2. Neighborhoods are not isolated nor are they the only locality groups in rural society.

The first conclusion is based upon a methodology that contains obvious flaws. A

neighborhood was considered "active" if associations or functions were carried on in two or more of the five broad fields which were encountered most frequently; namely, educational, religious, social, economic, or communication (p. 2). It is not explained why a neighborhood might not be considered as active while serving only "the need for a sense of personal security and freedom found in intimate groups."

On page 46 the authors define neighborhood as a "group relationship having localized and primary, i.e. personal inter-family associations." Such a definition does not allow the arbitrary designation of "active" or "inactive" neighborhood as employed in the methodology. The authors themselves seemed to sense the invalidity of their premise when they observed: "The social function played a consistent and *important minor* role throughout, especially when in combination with the educational function. (Italics mine) It seemed to act as a sort of catalyst, giving the combination its vitality." (p. 6.)

What seemed to be implied in the major conclusion, elaborated upon more fully in the section on Family and Society, is that the function of neighborhood has changed and not the form of association itself.

In its second conclusion the report breaks with tradition and in so doing may well point the way to more fruitful and realistic research in social organization. Its greatest contribution may well be found in the section Family and Society (which unfortunately is buried on pp. 24-28). The observation is made that "the clusters of families in their informal visiting and work exchange patterns seem to form almost independent of neighborhood or community lines. . . . Neighborhood and community areas fade into the background, while kinship, religion and nationality background, and to an extent business associations, become more prominent." (p. 25) If this be true, this reviewer is prompted to ask the question: "Should we not rid ourselves of the rigid definitions of neighborhood and community and begin to study the rural family in relation to all of its group ar-

<sup>6</sup> *Virginia's Economic Pattern: A Series of Maps of Selected Economic Characteristics by Counties*. Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1945. 26 pp.

rangements?" This study suggests that the answer to such a question must be "yes." The authors make a plea for less rigid definitions when they write as follows:

"The evidence also showed that neighborhoods are related to other groups in rural society; there are ways out. Rural groups are not 'fenced' by mutually exclusive boundaries; they are intermeshed and connected. Furthermore, primary contacts are not confined to neighborhoods." (p. 29)

This reviewer cannot let the opportunity pass to point out the danger of drawing too sweeping conclusions on data gathered from a single county. From this standpoint the title of the bulletin may be entirely too broad. But the authors have attempted, I think successfully, to indicate the general direction our research in social organization should take. If their supporting data seems inadequate it is only because we have not yet built up sufficient data about the field in question so as to take into account the cultural and geographic diversity of the United States. Our task is to see that such studies as this one of the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin is repeated in many more areas.

T. WILSON LONGMORE.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

#### HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

The recently intensifying concern about improved methods of financing private medical care, particularly through prepayment plans, gives timeliness to the newest edition of Federal Security Agency's useful publication on prepayment organizations.<sup>1</sup> It contains information regarding 235 such organizations in the United States, and 16 in Canada, for early 1945 as compared with 219 for 1943 in the second edition. In addition, more space is devoted to summarizing materials, both textual and statistical. Of special interest will be the tables showing for 1943 and 1945, by state and type of plan, the numbers of persons eligible for care on a prepayment basis.

Figures from the 229 plans in the United States for which coverage data were available show total persons eligible for care

under prepayment plans increased 50 per cent between 1943 and 1945 (from 8.8 to nearly 5 million). Those eligible for relatively complete services of physicians, however, increased only 30 per cent (from about 2.3 to nearly 3 million). Even less reassuring is the fact that almost all of the latter increase took place in only two states, Washington and Oregon. Such data raise questions about the ability of private and voluntary participation plans to provide coverage of adequate scope for the bulk of our population.

In the introduction to its report on health,<sup>2</sup> the U. S. Department of Agriculture Interbureau Committee on Post-War Programs states that "Farm people are deeply concerned about their health and their medical services. There are many groups planning and many different ideas, but farm people are more or less agreed on what they want. (1) They want more doctors, nurses and dentists in their communities. (2) They want more hospitals and better sanitary facilities. (3) They want more preventive medicine and public health clinics. (4) They want easier ways of paying their doctor bills. (5) They want all the benefits of first class medical science that they read about." The report then outlines reasons for these wants, steps taken to remedy health problems in rural areas and possible steps toward solutions in the future.

The study of *preventable deaths in North Carolina*<sup>3</sup> is founded on the two basic assumptions that: (1) The geo-physical conditions in rural and urban areas of North Carolina are as favorable to a low death rate as in any other state; and (2) the people of North Carolina are as sound biologically as are the peoples in any other state. Therefore, death rates comparable to the lowest in the nation are to be expected

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret C. Klem. *Prepayment Medical Care Organizations*. 148 pp. Bur. Memo. No. 55. Third Edition. Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board. Washington, D. C. June, 1945. (Copies available at U. S. Government Printing Office at 25 cents a copy.)

in North Carolina and the fact that 37 states had lower adjusted death rates than North Carolina in 1940 indicates that there were many preventable deaths in North Carolina. Preventable deaths are those deaths which would not have occurred if the death rates by age in North Carolina had been as low as those in any other state's major residential group. The report presents detailed tables and an estimate of preventable deaths by counties. It concludes that "It may be safely assumed that the death rate for each age group in the state could be lowered to the lowest death rate that prevails in any age and residence group in the nation. This is possible by means of a complete medical care program that will reach the needs of everyone."

#### POPULATION

In-migrant families living in Webster, a suburb of Rochester, N. Y.,<sup>4</sup> are younger than the resident farm and nonfarm families. They have, on the whole, more young children, they are better educated, and they differ also in occupational status and in patterns of social participation. The three groups share a common appreciation of the advantages and values of rural surroundings and living—but differ in the degree of loyalty to the traditional values of the parent culture, toward money and toward collective responsibility. The resident nonfarm group generally occupies a position intermediate between the resident farm group and the in-migrants. Webster is one of the 140 villages previously studied by Brunner.

The present study was done late in 1944. Every household in the village was visited by enumerators who used schedules cover-

ing composition of family, commuting status, educational status, occupational activities and related data. The household schedules were supplemented by special studies of institutions and organizations, by records, and by more detailed interviews of more than 600 residents to find "what Webster—old and new—thinks of the problem of suburbanization."

Rural-reared householders living in Lexington, Kentucky,<sup>5</sup> were, on the whole, at a disadvantage when compared with urban-reared householders in the same city. Rural-reared householders were found in all income groups, in all the neighborhoods, at all levels of education, in all types of occupations, and in all kinds of houses. Differences among the two groups of householders were less among persons under 40 years of age. Rural-reared householders shifted less from one rental class to another than urban-reared, but they moved from one residence to another in the same rental class. Rural-reared householders had larger families and less space per person in their homes. There were no observable differences in social participation of the two groups. These findings are based on a study of a sample of 297 households in Lexington.

#### FARM OWNERSHIP

McMillan and Duncan have reexamined the data of surveys done at Oklahoma A. and M. College during the last 10 years and on that basis they conclude that in Oklahoma:<sup>6</sup> Farmers whose parents were landless only rarely become farm owners themselves. Farmers whose parents were landowners achieve farm ownership in far greater than expected proportions. Smaller proportions of children of nonowners than of owners of farms remain in agriculture. The proportion of ownership tends to increase with age of farmers. Between 1930 and 1940 there was an increase in the proportion of farm ownership which was due to the increasing proportions of older farmers more than to any other known factor. Inheritances are becoming an increasingly important factor in the attainment of farm

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Dept. of Agr. Interurban Committee on Post-War Programs. *Better Health for Rural America*. 34 pp. Washington, D. C. Oct., 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Selz C. Mayo. *Preventable Deaths in North Carolina*. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Progress Report No. RS-6. 12 pp. Raleigh, Sept., 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Earl Lomon Koos and Edmund deS. Brunner. *Suburbanization in Webster, New York*. 95 pp. Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1945.

ownership. Relatively, farm ownership tends to be greatest among livestock farmers and least among cotton farmers. Educational achievement and number of children born to a family had no direct relation to farm ownership.

#### FARM HOUSING

Average housing index scores of 696 rural families of southwestern and southeastern Oklahoma<sup>7</sup> decreased in size for tenure groups in this order: part owners, full owners, tenants and families not dependent primarily on farm operation for their income. Families with children under 15 had lower housing scores and as housing scores increased the percentages of persons over 44 years old living in these dwellings also increased. High housing scores are positively related to participation in organized community life. The relation of the housing index to schooling, illness, immigration, size of farm, type of farm, and possession of tractors is examined. Appendixes describe the sampling procedures used and the construction of housing scores.

#### RURAL GOVERNMENT

After 2 years of study and planning the Blue Earth County Council on Intergovernmental Relations<sup>8</sup> reports on its progress toward "blending more harmoniously the powers and interest of federal, state, and local governments in the execution of their common purposes." This is one of the county programs sponsored by the Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Concerned over "the growing trend toward a top-heavy

<sup>7</sup> Howard W. Beers and Catherine Heflin. *Rural People in the City*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 478. 19 pp. Lexington, July, 1945.

<sup>8</sup> Robert T. McMillan and Otis Durant Duncan. *Social Factors of Farm Ownership in Oklahoma*. Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. B-289. 32 pp. Stillwater, Nov., 1945.

<sup>9</sup> Robert T. McMillan. *Social Factors Related to Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma*. Tech. Bul. T-22. 28 pp. Oct., 1945. *Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma*. Bul. 290. 23 pp. Nov., 1945. Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Stillwater.

organization in government at the state and federal levels and toward confusion in government within the community," the County Council began its work with the conviction that the success of national programs depended upon the vitality of local government. Nearly 300 government units and agencies operate in the county, half of them are engaged in local government. These have 680 elected officials, 487 appointed officials, and 363 other temporary employees. Thirty-eight federal and 105 state agencies carry on some work in the county. The organization and functioning of the County Council are described.

#### FARM LABOR

The bulletin, *Mexican war workers in the United States*,<sup>9</sup> describes the main characteristics of the agreements between Mexico and the United States on the recruitment of Mexican nationals to harvest war crops and to assist in the railroad maintenance-of-way work in critical areas in the United States. The manner in which the agreements have been carried into effect up to December 31, 1944 is also discussed. This report deals with the agricultural labor program and with the railroad labor program separately, discussing under each, such topics as contracts, financing and administrative machinery, housing, food, medical services, education and recreation facilities for the workers, grievance machinery, and possible effects of repatriation. Employment conditions are described in considerable detail, and the attitudes of the workers are shown where possible. The labor situation in the United States and the failure effectively to redistribute the nation's manpower are related to the demand by employers for importation of Mexican nationals.

*Wages and wage rates of hired farm workers, United States and major regions, March 1945*<sup>10</sup> is the first national report of the new enumerative sample surveys conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on wages and wage rates of hired farm workers. These surveys differ from

the wage data previously available in that the wage and related information is obtained from the farmer for each hired worker employed on his farm during the reporting week. In the regularly issued BAE series on farm wage rates, the averages presented are based on an average reported for his locality by each of a group of farmers, known as "Crop Reporters," who are sent mail questionnaires. In the new surveys the farms surveyed were selected by the master sample technique from a sample of 158 counties, and the surveys permit estimates by four major regions of the United States. The average wage rates are computed on an individual worker basis. The workers are also distributed by the amount of the wage rates and by characteristics of the workers to show variation.

This report presents data obtained from 20,000 farms during the third week of March 1945. Of the 6,500 hired farm workers covered, over half were in the South. A fifth were in the North Central region, less than a fifth were in the West and less than a tenth were in the Northeast. More than four-fifths of the farms with hired labor had only one or two workers during the week. However, these farms had less than half of the total number of hired workers employed. The average hourly cash wages earned varied widely among the four regions. In the South, which had the largest group of workers, the average hourly earnings were 29 cents and in the North Central the average was 28 cents an hour. On the

other hand, the average hourly cash wages earned in the Northeast were 34 cents and in the West 62 cents. The nation-wide average hourly earnings were 35 cents. Over 90 per cent of the hired farm workers in March were males. In the South, less than half of the hired farm workers were white; while in each of the other regions about 95 per cent of the workers were white. Of the male workers not employed in crews, 40 per cent were from 18 to 34 years old. Only about 5 per cent were 65 years old or over and only about 11 per cent were under 18. Nearly all of these were from 14 to 17 years old. Over half of the hired workers on the farms surveyed in March were regular hands whom the farmers expected to employ for approximately 6 months or more during the year. For the United States as a whole, these "regular" workers received lower hourly cash wages than those hired for shorter periods. In the Northeast, North Central and West the differences between the hourly cash wages earned by regular and seasonal workers were even greater than the national averages. Regular hired farm hands worked longer hours per day and more days per week than did the seasonal workers. The steadier employment more than offset the lower hourly wages paid regular workers, for the regular workers averaged \$18.00 cash wages for the week of March 18-24 compared with \$13.00 earned by seasonal workers on the reporting farm. The regular workers also received much more in the way of items furnished without charge by the farmer such as meals or housing. The workers surveyed were paid different types of cash wage rates as monthly, weekly, daily, hourly, or piece rates. When allowance is made for the different time periods involved, day-hands were paid the lowest unit-time rate. The average day rate for workers not furnished meals was \$2.65 for the country as a whole. On the other hand, hourly rates, which average 57 cents an hour for the United States, were the highest basic cash rates on a time basis. The monthly rates paid in March averaged \$99.30 for workers not furnished meals and \$67.10 for those

\* Blue Earth County Council on Intergovernmental Relations. *Democracy Trains Its Microscope on Government in Blue Earth County, Minnesota*. 33 pp. Council on Intergovernmental Relations, Mankato, Minn. 1945.

\* Robert C. Jones. *Mexican War Workers in the United States*. 46 pp. Div. of Labor and Social Information, Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C. 1945.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood. *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Farm Workers, United States and Major Regions, March 1945*. 56 pp. Surveys of wages and wage rates in agriculture. Report No. 4. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C. Oct., 1945.

provided 2 or more meals per day without charge.

In addition to this national report on wages and wage rates of hired farm workers in March 1945, this series will also include reports on two other national surveys made in 1945, one in May and one in September, and reports on wages of seasonal harvest workers in about 60 special crop areas of some 12-15 states.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

The Servindia Kerala Relief Center in India in two reports<sup>11</sup> describes the results of food famine in the early 1940's, including the exodus of some 15,000 persons to other areas. The report on "Food Famine and Nutritional Diseases" summarizes numerous surveys of malnutrition, nutritional diseases and the food situation. Detailed tables for small areas include individual deaths by age and cause and for individual families the amount of food consumed, number of meals per day and days without meals, a measure of condition of the dwelling and nutritional deficiency diseases. The report on the exodus from Travancore to Malabar jungles describes the famine-induced movement and includes case studies of individual colonies of refugees.

*Traditional food preparation rules*<sup>12</sup> taught to 1,158 small town homemakers of Mississippi were analyzed in order to understand prevalent food preparation practices. Older homemakers and those with less schooling have more often been taught food preparation rules by their mothers or someone else at home. About 64 per cent of the rules given by white homemakers and 68 per cent by Negro homemakers concerned preparation of vegetables. Reasons given for the rules were: (1) to tender or cook quicker, (2) to make more healthful, (3) to improve flavor. Flavor was given more relative importance by whites, to tender or cook quicker by Negroes. More of the rules given by younger homemakers concerned food types (vegetables, meats, cakes, etc.) rather than particular foods. Eleven per cent of all preparation rules reported by

white women and 3 per cent of all reported by Negro women were negative rules which more frequently represented modern attitudes and beliefs. Many cake and bread rules were outdated because of better methods of preparation. Changes in food preparation should take place with (1) increased nutritional information, (2) development of new techniques, (3) changes in processing, and (4) changes in taste.

*Some educational problems in Peru*<sup>13</sup> are described in two articles dealing with (1) the educational work among the rural population and (2) the evolution of the public education system now in operation. An effort is being made to reach all elements in the rural population through different types of schools. The rural schools teach Spanish, the formation of civilized habits, training in agriculture, livestock raising and industries and crafts akin to farming occupations. Community schools teach the advantages of agricultural cooperatives through communal use of lands, water supplies, etc. and by letting the students share in the profits. The home school encourages students, especially the women, to put into practice in their own homes what they have learned, transforming their huts into civilized dwellings. Cultural brigades and school patronages (akin to the Parent-Teacher Association of the United States) travel over the country trying to better the cultural and labor conditions of the Indians and promoting cooperation among parents and teachers. Twenty normal schools giving teachers special training for their tasks in these rural schools have

<sup>11</sup> Servindia Kerala Relief Center. *Food Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore (1943-44)*. 265 pp. July, 1945. *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*. 39 pp. Aug., 1945. R. S. Puram Post, Coimbatore, S. India.

<sup>12</sup> Dorothy Dickins. *Traditional Food Preparation Rules*. Miss. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 418. 60 pp. State College, June, 1945.

<sup>13</sup> Max H. Minano-Garcia. *Some Educational Problems in Peru*. 70 pp. The Univ. of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies. Occasional Series 1. The Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, 1945.

been established but it will be some time before these can fulfill the educational needs of the rural people.

The author describes the evolution of public education in Peru including the Law of Education first operative in 1920 and the Organic Law Relating to Education passed in 1941. This law has three general aims—democratization of education, placing of the school at the service of work and obliteration of illiteracy. Its educational policy may be summarized as (1) state control without excluding private cooperation, (2) equal opportunity for all to be educated, without fees, (3) promotion of technical training among laborers and peasants "Christian spirit—core and guide of western civilization—nourishes and vitalizes the whole plan. The objectives are culture, physical health, morality and love of country, all converging toward social and international peace, and fitness of the youth for any emergency that the national defense may demand."

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Edited by Howard W. Beers*

*Guaranteed Annual Wages.* By Jack Chernick and George C. Hellickson. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 146. \$2.50.

This book represents a type of collaboration that should be more widely used in presenting economic problems and programs to the public. Chernick is an economist who has devoted a great deal of study to the problem of annual wages. Hellickson, on the other hand, is a newsman (*Minneapolis Star-Journal*) who is trained in presenting facts and ideas in a manner that is interesting and understandable to the general public. This, perhaps accounts for the fact that there are few places in the book where the reader has to stop and figure out just what the authors meant to say. The result is a book that is well worth reading and thinking about.

The authors would probably be among the first to agree that in a book of this length they have not covered fully and completely the practical and theoretical aspects of annual wages and guaranteed employ-

ment. This comment is not, however, to be construed as an adverse criticism. A short book that touches briefly upon a number of pertinent points and omits certain others is much better suited for use in seminars and discussion groups than is an exhaustive treatise, and is certainly more likely to create enough popular interest to bring about both formal and informal discussion of the problems with which it deals.

The authors present the thesis that the guarantee of either a specific annual income or a specific number of hours work per year would be good for the workers, good for their employers, and good for the general public. Furthermore, it is contended that for most industries such a guarantee is entirely practical. In support of their position the authors present more or less in detail three case studies of successful plans that are now in operation. They quote freely expressions of satisfaction from both management and labor, point out briefly some of the favorable economic developments resulting from the introduction of

such a plan by the dominating industrial establishment in a small city, present a (necessarily) hypothetical description of its extension to the building trades on an industry-wide basis, and from time to time base their arguments upon pertinent economic theory.

It appears to this reader that the book could be improved considerably by the simple process of organizing the material differently and more carefully. Chapter 1 deals with the effects of intermittent employment upon individual workers, and nine chapters intervene before there is a discussion of social consequences of the layoff. Chapters 2 and 3 describe the instigation and operation of three existing plans selected for detailed study, but the effects of these plans upon the workers and upon one of the communities are not found until the reader reaches chapters 9 and 10. The first and last chapters are about the only ones that occupy what are unquestionably their logical positions.

The authors fail to differentiate clearly enough between plans which guarantee a specific annual wage announced in advance, those which guarantee employment at a wage that depends upon the sort of work actually done, and those which guarantee employment at a wage that depends upon the selling price of the product produced. Undoubtedly the plans differ with respect to their private and social benefits, the industrial management problems associated with them, their effects upon costs of production, and perhaps also their effects upon the "spending psychology" of the workers. It is an error to lump different types of plans together under the title of "guaranteed annual wages" and by implication claim for all the expected advantages of each.

The historical tendency has been for industrial prices to remain fairly rigid while production and employment fluctuate in contrast to the tendency for agricultural prices to fluctuate while production and employment remain more or less stable. This situation has presented one of the

major arguments in favor of government price supports for farm products. It is therefore intriguing to a person interested in agricultural problems to find that the authors of *Guaranteed Annual Wages* claim that the employment of industrial labor on an annual basis would tend to impart flexibility to industrial prices and stability to industrial employment. The argument is that if industry were (like agriculture) in a position where most of its costs had to be met whether or not anything was produced, goods would be produced and sold even if they would bring only a low price. Like many other attempted analogies between industrial and agricultural production, this line of reasoning could lead to serious difficulties.

In the first place it is to be noted that a very large proportion of the labor employed on American farms is family labor, whereas virtually all industrial labor is hired. For family labor the return (wage) for work done depends upon "profits" after contractual costs and taxes have been paid. That wage may be much or little depending upon how much gross farm income exceeds contractual costs and taxes. If wages of family workers are considered cost items, there is a considerable degree of flexibility in farm labor cost. Furthermore, farmers like most other business men usually take on and lay off hired workers seasonally if the nature of their operations makes such desirable. It is only on a farm that is wholly family-operated that the living expenses of labor constitute an overhead cost on farms, and the actual amount, for farm being contracted for in advance, is a variable that depends upon volume of production, non-labor costs, and the price of the product. The only comparable situation under a guaranteed annual wage plan would be a case where the wages of labor and salaries of management varied directly with the gross income of the company making the guarantee.

JAMES M. STEPP.

Clemson College.

*The American Way of Life.* By Harry Elmer Barnes and Oreen M. Ruedi. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xxi + 802. \$5.00.

This book is very largely a revision of the senior author's *Society in Transition*, published in 1940. The plan for the revision was worked out by Dr. Barnes and the rewriting and condensation, for it is a somewhat shorter book than the original, was carried out by the junior author with the assistance of others.

The book is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of American social institutions and social problems, viewed against the background of their historical development and in the light of the exigencies of contemporary social changes. The analysis and interpretation throughout the book is in terms of the theory of cultural lag. The thesis of the book is perhaps best expressed in the Preface by Dr. Barnes. He writes, "In facing, as we do, either utopia or social collapse, our age is unlike any other in history. We have brought into being an empire of machines admirably equipped either to serve us constructively or speedily to wreck our civilization altogether. Whether these machines will bear us to utopia or consign us to oblivion depends very directly upon our ability to subdue them to the positive service of humanity. We must throw about them a set of institutional controls as efficient and up-to-date as the machines themselves. It is our failure to do this in the years now behind us which has placed man in his present sorry state. We have vainly tried to control our complex urban-industrial world civilization with ideas and institutions which, for the most part, antedate the era of George Washington. In an age of dynamos, we seek to direct society by windmill thought and action in the institutional realm. This so-called cultural lag lies at the heart of all our ills today."

The content and arrangement of the book is as follows: It is divided into nine parts. The first is historical, setting forth the theory of cultural lag, the rise of the industrial revolution and modern urban-industrial society. The second, called The So-

cial Framework of Human Life, discusses human needs and forms of group and institutional organization. In the third, The Physical Basis of Society, such problems as waste, conservation, population, migration, race, and health are covered in individual chapters. The fourth deals with The Economic Foundations of Society, and includes the development of agriculture and industry, private property, and capitalism. The fifth, on Political Institutions, discusses the state, representative government, political parties, democracy, civil liberties, international relations, law and justice. Part six, Communication and Public Opinion, includes developments in transportation and communication, propaganda, censorship. In part seven, Leading Social Problems, the revolution in rural and urban life is considered, as are also problems of the family, the community, education, leisure and art. In part eight, Social Pathology, the problems of poverty, mental disease, crime, penology, and personal maladjustment are taken up. The final section is concerned with Programs of Economic and Social Reconstruction, and contains a comparison of the programs offered by totalitarian governments with those of liberal capitalistic countries.

As the above summary indicates, this book is an inclusive survey of contemporary individual and social disorganization. Though somewhat uneven it is often informative and suggestive. Its shortcomings are: (1) Some of the material already is "dated," as is inevitable with any book on social problems within two or three years after publication, but which especially effects this book, written in the middle of the war, now that the war is over and we are launched upon postwar adjustments. (2) Although it is a partial condensation of its predecessor and is a better book for that reason it is still overloaded with facts and comparatively light in interpretation. (3) Much too frequent and facile use is made of the concept of cultural lag, not as it should properly be used as a tool for the analysis of social problems, but as a handy weapon to condemn social practices, institutional pat-

terns, ideas and values which the authors regard as obsolete or otherwise undesirable. In spite of these limitations it is a useful book for the student of the contemporary American scene.

GEORGE F. THERIAULT.

Dartmouth College.

*Backgrounds of Conflict.* By Kurt London.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xvi + 487. \$3.75.

The microscope is turned on Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, Vichy France, England and the United States in order to observe closely and to compare the institutional life in them and to trace their evolution in the period leading up to and later under the impact of World War II. The yardstick in constant use by the author is democracy, and the first three of these nations are treated as its enemies. We are told that the conflict just ended was more than an imperialistic war. It was an ideological struggle. For this reason, even though the forces of aggression and resistance are suppressed, the ideas implanted remain a future source of danger to democracy.

While Hitler found adequate bases for his program in the ideas given by some of Germany's most eminent scholars, from Kant's categorical imperative and Hegel's absolutism to the Anglo-German, H. S. Chamberlain's racial theories, Mussolini could find no such basis in Italian thought. Instead, he borrowed from Germany the necessary philosophical justification for his puny imperialism. The Fascists did not pursue the new objective so completely as did the Nazis. There was no complete transformation of cultural values. However, Italian education finally became "Believe—Obey—Fight."

Japanese preparation required the repudiation of nothing in her former ideology—only a deepening of faith and a quickening of action. Her's was a faith more perfect than that of the Nazis or Fascists. Resources and skills only were lacking to carry out her objectives. Her use of Western technical knowledge illustrates very effectively how completely physical science in a

culture may be divorced from social and spiritual values.

Vichy France under Marshal Petain and later under Laval attempted to copy the patterns set by Nazi Germany, in general ideology and form of government. Indoctrination and Gestapo methods failed because the people regained hope in an Allied victory.

While the title suggests factors causing conflict, the author gives very little attention to these. He shows how objectives were created and vividly describes the processes of conditioning men, women and children for total war. Planning is shown to be an essential part of the program of each nation described, but they group themselves into those that sacrifice the individual for the glory of the state (Germany, Italy and Japan) and those that emphasize the welfare of the individual as the primary goal (Russia, Britain and the United States).

A look at the postwar period suggests some of the problems to be faced. The proposals of the National Resources Planning Board are summarized, and many other reports are enumerated.

Evaluations are skillfully made throughout. The reader can see a general aversion to Nazi-Fascist-Japanese practices, though often effectiveness in accomplishing objectives is pointed out. Recent efforts of the United States under Roosevelt to make reforms and particularly of England to democratize its institutional life are openly commended. "Britain . . . may well be the first country in the world to furnish the example of democratic evolution from a constitutional class state to a cooperative liberal democracy." Similar praise is given Russia in such statements as, ". . . the world faces a profound modification of the conception of property and will have to divert its attention from profit to service."

The reviewer believes that very close editing would alter a few awkward expressions found in the book, but there is no desire to offer this as a serious criticism. The reader will find a selected bibliography for each country treated and complete documentation throughout. These and other desirable

features make this volume a very valuable contribution to the literature of the social sciences.

ROY E. HYDE.

Louisiana State University.

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*Human Leadership in Industry.* By Sam A.

Lewisohn. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. viii +112. \$2.00.

The author of this small volume is president of the Miami Copper Company and past president of the American Management Association. His approach to the problem of labor-management relations is in refreshing contrast to that of many employers who are disposed to place the blame for current industrial disputes entirely upon labor unions and their leaders.

Mr. Lewisohn's central thesis is that the primary responsibility for good labor relations rests upon management. "When things are not going right it is common sense to start at the top in locating the difficulty." (p. 23) Notwithstanding increased attention to the field of personnel administration in recent years, most employers have continued to regard problems of human relations in their own plants as of secondary importance in comparison with matters of a technological or business nature. "*The real difficulty of labor relations has been one of neglect.* Executives have treated the question of human organization as a minor matter, not as a major problem." (p. 105)

One reason for this situation is the relative neglect of the social sciences in our engineering and business colleges. Intelligent leadership in any field of collective effort in the modern world requires at least an elementary understanding of the basic principles of sociology and social psychology. The efficient organization of labor and management for industrial production is no exception to this rule.

In the development of his central thesis the author accepts the potentially constructive role of labor unions but warns against the dangers of industrial autocracy, whether on the part of labor or management. He is a vigorous defender of capitalism and

objects to the assumption that modern labor problems are the peculiar products of a capitalistic economy. Critical readers may detect a degree of pro-management bias at various places throughout the volume but on the whole the treatment is objective and the main conclusions convincing.

T. G. STANDING.

New York State College for Teachers.

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*Community Organization for Social Welfare.*

By Wayne McMillen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 658. \$4.75.

Professor McMillen of the School of Social Service, University of Chicago, has written a very practical and useful book for beginners in social work. It should be "required reading" for executives of social work programs and recommended reading for professional community leaders.

Although the primary focus is urban, there are brief descriptions of the application of social work organization ideas to rural areas. Rural sociologists will find it interesting. Extension Rural Sociologists and those who teach undergraduates planning to enter the fields of extension work, rural welfare or rural health will find it useful as a reference book and for supplementary readings.

The presentation is practical and functional, not theoretical and systematic. The first section of the book labeled "Process" includes chapters on: Community Organization—a process in social work, Functional Social Agencies—private and public, The Relationship Between Public and Private Agencies, The Development of Agency Leadership, Agency Leadership in the Community, Identifying Problems for Study, Individualizing the Community, The Approach to the Community, and Public Relations and Community Organization. Professor McMillen's social work organization ideas are presented in this section. Part II, labeled "Structure", is a series of eight chapters, describing types of social welfare organizations and their function in social work. It is essentially an annotated inven-

tory of welfare organizations and agencies—local, state and national.

The term, community organization, is defined and used in the social welfare sense. Most rural sociologists would prefer the term, organization for social work, for much of the presentation deals with organization techniques for administering social work programs, rather than community planning.

Professor McMillen uses the concept "community" to cover several types of collectivities. Therefore, he says, "Thus, in the field of social work, there is no single definition of the term 'Community' that will serve all occasions." He believes the concept of community, for his purposes, should include (1) service area or geographic communities, as rural sociologists use the term; (2) political unit communities, such as townships, counties, cities or wards; (3) communities of interest, such as trade unions, religious sects, political groups or ethnic collectivities.

Although the reviewer differs with the author on some of his terminology and theoretical statements, he whole-heartedly applauds the systematic presentation of practical suggestions that Professor McMillen has compiled from his long experience in social work. The author demonstrates in nearly every chapter how knowledge of a community and its groups is essential to the successful administration of social work programs.

There is a bibliography in the form of readings at the end of each chapter. A series of forty-six documents are appended to the several chapters, containing carefully selected material supporting the text.

ROBERT A. POLSON.

Cornell University.

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*The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society.*

By Leo W. Simmons. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Pp. vi + 317. \$4.00.

*The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society* is based upon a study of the literature on the status and treatment of the aged in seventy-one primitive societies. The author

attempts to determine the securities which may be provided by various cultures and the part that the aged play in seeing that security is provided. He also attempts to find what uniformities exist in primitive societies in treatment of the aged. Peoples were chosen representing significant variables such as racial differences, cultural areas, manner of sustenance, and as far as possible, so-called primitive peoples or those of antiquity.

In each chapter the author shows ways in which old people have been able to achieve positions of security and prestige through their personal initiative. He has made correlations of association between the economic and social organization of different societies and the position of the aged in these societies.

In presenting the material concerning the methods which the aged have used to gain the exclusive rights to eat certain foods, to achieve prestige, and to have the sole power in the field of magic and religion, the author conveys the idea that most of the old people in the societies had these rights and therefore were well protected. The reader will question whether the generalization here is not too broad. In our modern society only a limited few of the old people have achieved security and rights in different field. Our Edisons, Fords, Mayos, and Holmeses have achieved and maintained positions of leadership in old age. However, the masses of old people in our society are forgotten men. Although those who have made careful studies of primitive societies have noted the prestige assigned to old people, one wonders whether such prestige was enjoyed by the masses of old people in the primitive societies or by the exceptional few.

The first seven chapters of the book place greater emphasis upon the fact that the aged were able to maintain a position of security and prestige in the majority of societies. The last chapter on reactions to death seems to contradict the position taken in the first seven chapters in that the old people in primitive societies had no guarantee of security when they were quite old

and feeble. In many tribes they were permitted to die from neglect or were killed by some member of the tribe.

The study will be of interest to people who are working in the field of old age because of the fund of information given as to how the aged have attempted to gain security for themselves. The author of the book recognizes, however, that it is difficult to be objective in weighing the evidence of different authors who, in some cases, presented conflicting reports, imperfect information, and material based on subjective judgments. Recognizing these difficulties, I believe that *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society* is a worthwhile contribution to the literature in the field of old age.

JUDSON T. LANDIS.

Michigan State College.

*The Farmer's Last Frontier.* By Fred A. Shannon. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1945. Pp. xii + 434. \$5.00.

This meaty volume is one of a projected nine-volume economic history of the United States. The author tries to view the last forty years of the nineteenth century "as the farmer saw it," and to picture the farmer "as he affected and was influenced by the world in which he worked and lived."

The main regions of the nation are dealt with in separate chapters in which the economics of characteristic crops share the space gracefully with pertinent regional discussions of national problems such as foreign trade, mechanization and its social and economic effects, credit and marketing.

This section, the heart of the book, is preceded by three chapters dealing with soils and the farmers' adjustment to them, the trend of settlement in the period and the disposal of the public domain. It is followed by chapters on governmental activity in agriculture, the agrarian uprising, the cooperative movement and finally one on the farmer and the nation.

An extensive, annotated bibliography of 33 pages, which follows the chapter organization, closes the book. This last feature is well done and should prove quite valuable, for Dr. Shannon is as ready to use works

of fiction as works of history or economics where they apply and has been as faithful in the examination of periodical sources as of those contained in government reports or books.

The style is vigorous. The author is not afraid to state his conclusions, some of which will bring dissent. The reiterated "established rule," "that for every city laborer who took up farming, 20 farmers flocked to the city to compete for the vacated job or place in the bread line" (pp. 55 and 357) will bring raised eyebrows on the part of those who read into the measurements of the increased production of goods and services per capita the proof that our economy was in the main an expanding one during the forty years covered.

Rural sociologists will be glad to have the sorry story of the dissipation of the public domain, not to say the prostitution of the objectives of the Homestead Act, told as succinctly and at the same time from as broad a point of view. The analysis of the rise of share cropping and of southern class structure, is similarly valuable, and it should be added, sympathetic. The frequent and sometimes extended use of population data will be of interest even if complete agreement will not always follow. Similarly the discussions of the farmers' political movements, of farm labor, the farm home, rural school and rural church show an awareness at least of the interrelation of social and economic factors. True, save in some points of view, such discussion will bring no new knowledge. Doubtless an economist reviewer could make a similar statement. The point is that the various considerations are interwoven into a coherent whole. The total on-going process is made the clearer thereby. This sort of historical work on this period has long been needed. We can be glad it has been competently done.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.  
Columbia University.

*The Japanese Nation.* By John F. Embree. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Incorporated, 1945. Pp. xi + 308. \$2.25.

It is difficult for most Americans to understand the nature of Japanese culture because it is so alien to our own. Japanese emphasis upon group values, their extreme sense of honor and shame, their highly formalized codes of inter-personal behavior and their attitudes toward suicide are examples of unfamiliar culture patterns.

Part of the uniqueness of Japan is the result of the carryover into the modern industrial era of so much that is primitive and feudal. The caste system, the *samurai* virtues of Spartan living, the sacredness of the Emperor, and the special status of the "virtuous farmers" in contrast to the "money-grabbing merchants" can all be traced back to the feudal period.

Dr. Embree's book was written to give Americans a better understanding of Japan and he has done a good job of bringing together much factual information on the history, government, class structure, religion, education and other aspects of Japanese culture. The book is of special interest as an attempt of an anthropologist to apply the methods of social anthropology to a social survey of a modern nation. Dr. Embree has been in Japan a number of times and is the author of a well-known study of a Japanese village. The present survey is based primarily upon secondary sources but throughout, the author draws upon his first-hand experience in Japan. This is especially evident in the chapters on government, religion and culture patterns.

Dr. Embree writes of modern Japan with the same detachment, sympathy and understanding that an anthropologist generally uses in describing a primitive tribe. This has its advantages and disadvantages. While it is an excellent antidote to the passions engendered by the war it seems, in this case, to lead to a lack of sufficient critical analysis, particularly in those sections of the book which deal with recent social and political events. The author relies heavily on official Japanese government explanations and points of view, without always presenting them as such. In his discussion of the Japanese government he tends to emphasize the social integration

and social solidarity it has achieved rather than its coercive and repressive nature. If the author has any bias in favor of a democratic system he does not reveal it. The "disbanding" of the independent labor unions and the outlawing of political parties is explained simply as ". . . a result of the government program of unity. . ." (p. 122) and the technique of "thought control" is described as "one response of the nation to threats of national disunity." (p. 110). Although the author describes the complicated network of government controls such as the control of the radio and newspapers, the presence of federal police in towns and hamlets, the extensive intelligence system which includes the compilation of dossiers on all individuals and the government control of labor unions, farm organizations and other organizations, he nowhere identifies these controls as part of the apparatus of the modern fascist state.

OSCAR LEWIS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*Systematic Politics.* By Charles E. Merriam.  
Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945.  
Pp. xiii + 349. \$3.75.

The author of this book is primarily concerned with government, but his approach to governmental problems is indicated by one statement, "Government is set in a series of associations, all concerned with the development of the human personality in the frame of reference of the group—economic, cultural, familial, political." The ends of government are fivefold: external security, internal order, justice, general welfare, and freedom. The tools of government are: custom, violence, symbolisms and ceremonialism, strategy, and leadership (the importance of leadership is emphasized throughout the book). The organs of government are adjudicative, conciliatory and managerial.

As to adjudication, it is not all "inside the political society." Arbitrators spring up everywhere and the rules of conduct laid down by the community are enforced sometimes by "tolerated private reprisal" and sometimes by "spontaneous mass action."

The term "conciliar" denotes not only the legislative function, but also the work of advisory and consultative groups. Legislative bodies have lost prestige because they represent "narrow electorates and interests" and because of the rise of pressure groups. The effect of the latter is not wholly bad, however, since they make "the participation of special groups in the community more effective." Dr. Merriam has noted the influence of the chief executive on legislation but he does not emphasize the growth of administration and the importance of the expert as causes of the aggrandizement of the executive office and of the comparative decline of the legislature.

The study of public administration and close attention to the details of organization and management are relatively new. Much additional study and many new approaches are needed, for, "Contrary to the general view, the defense of human liberty depends in large measure on the procedures and spirit of public administration." Administration must be planned, indeed, "a planning agency may be made the central point in the coming development of public administration." Planning, however, must not be narrow in scope, neither business, agricultural, welfare, scientific nor educational planning alone, nor even budgetary and personal planning alone will suffice.

Writing before the advent of the atomic bomb, the author sees clearly the need for new approaches to the questions of national sovereignty and national power, as well as the difficulties involved. He believes that in the future world order "there may be sovereigns, but they will not be absolute, unlimited, and unreasonable."

Much of the material of this book is old but its many new approaches and new points of view will make it valuable to all social scientists as well as interesting and instructive to the general reader. It is written in the well-known Merriam style which makes relatively difficult material easy to read. The author's purpose is to analyze, not to advocate, but he does not hesitate to express his preference for a progressive social policy, more not less democracy, and

a world order built on mutual understanding.

J. E. REEVES.

University of Kentucky.

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*Food or Famine.* By Ward Shepard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. x + 225. \$3.00.

This book is directed at one of the most far-flung and devastating problems facing mankind—soil erosion. The central and pertinent question which motivated the preparation of this volume is; Can man conquer soil erosion or will soil erosion destroy civilization? Soil erosion and war, both man-made are placed in the same category as destroyers of man's civilization. The data presented are drawn almost entirely from conditions studied in the United States during the thirties and the methods put into operation under the Soil Conservation program to stop the movement of our soils downstream.

That there are only two acres per capita of food-producing land in the world, that productive soil is constantly draining to the lowlands, rivers, deltas and the seas, and that soil movements put in jeopardy the large engineering works built to control the floods, reveal vividly the dangers man creates from his own destruction practices. But special experience in the Tennessee Valley and the more wide-spread practices of the soil conservation districts show that whether the erosion is from forest destruction, overgrazing of grass lands or from straight up-and-down-hill plowing, man can prevent soil destruction.

The greater part of the book is given to discussions of organizations of forest area, erosion control districts, and public control and acquisition of land by the public for handling the rainfall. One chapter on the Integral Watershed Development forcefully shows how the building of dams for the control of floods will prove futile without at the same time checking hillside destruction. This can be accomplished by democratic cooperation between large areas, such as that of the Tennessee Valley and the isolated farmer trying to rear his family

on eroding hill land. Conclusions are drawn from what the author has observed over the whole of the United States including the dry lands of the Indians. At many points the reader feels there is much theorizing, but perhaps that is essential.

Taking one perspective, the book may be regarded as especially opportune. No one knows just what the high production during World War II has done to our soils. If and when an appraisal is made it is found that our record crops have been produced at the cost of soil destruction, then this book presents a good summary background of what has been done and from which a new start can be made. But taking another perspective, the book should have appeared five years ago because most of its factual data respecting the destruction of erosion are based on the facts gathered during the thirties.

To the reviewer there is one grave defect in the book. To have conformed to the title, *Food or Famine* facts from China, North Africa, Italy, the Middle East, showing how soil destruction has created famines should have been presented. Such information would have been especially pertinent today since the International Food and Agricultural Organization, the function of which is to wrestle with the production of the world's food, is now in process of formation. However, for the general reader, who will be concerned with the specific problem of soil erosion or food production on a national scale this book provides excellent information.

BRUCE L. MELVIN.

American Association for the Advancement of Science.

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*Price and Related Controls in the United States.* By Seymour E. Harris. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xx + 392. \$4.00.

The allocation of scarce resources, production and consumer goods and services in the United States by means of rationing and price controls during World War II, was one of the greatest experiments in use of governmental authority in modern

times. The methods used and the results obtained from this experiment is the subject of Mr. Harris' book. This subject is treated in seven parts each of which, with the exception of Part I (which is a summary), deals with a special aspect of the subject. First, there is a discussion of the general aspects of price controls including such subjects as pricing principles, price control and supplies, the relevance of costs (in price policy), and coverage or extent to which price controls were used throughout the economy, and the techniques used which include freezing of prices, price formulas, and differential pricing. In addition to these two main divisions of the book, the author presents "some case studies," special problems, and related controls. There are two final chapters on "The Future of Controls."

This is perhaps the most thorough presentation of the subject of price control that has been published. The author is well qualified both by training and by experience to deal effectively with this difficult subject. On the whole, price control has been a success and has been of great benefit to both the civilian population and the Federal Government. The author, however, is quite conscious not only of the difficulties of enforcing controls but also of their limitations. He presents data to show that price control has been effective, in that not only have price rises been checked as to rates, but for a period after the "Hold the line order" was issued, the cost of living was stabilized. Although his contentions could be and have been questioned, it is nevertheless true that price controls were effective in checking and, in some respect, in stabilizing certain items of the cost of living.

One question which always faces the administrator of price controls is: What effect will a given regulation have on production? As the essential objective of all types of regulations is not so much over-all production but production of goods which are needed, it would be expected that the production of some goods would decline, whereas others would increase. And this, indeed, is what happened. Civilian goods production declined markedly after 1941 and goods

needed for the Armed Forces increased. But over-all production is important. If more goods can be produced so much the better. This feat was accomplished under controls. These facts, according to the author, indicate that the controls not only were well conceived but also were effectively applied.

The future of price and related controls is uncertain. Should such controls be continued in the reconversion period is a question which is not dodged by the author. He is of the opinion that some controls are not only advisable but also indispensable in the postwar reconversion period. But he states that wartime approach to price control is not appropriate to the demobilization period. He sets forth his reasons for this opinion in an able and fearless manner.

It is obvious, at least to the reviewer, that price controls and their use will be a subject for hot debate in the postwar era. We have not heard the last of this by any means, and the students of economics and rural sociology will do well to become acquainted with this important subject, not only in a superficial manner but as to details. Those who wish to obtain a fundamental knowledge of this subject will find this book indispensable.

G. W. FORSTER.

North Carolina State College.

*Intelligence and Its Deviations.* By Mandel Sherman. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1945. Pp. x + 286. \$3.75.

In the words of the author, "The purpose of this work is to present theoretical, experimental, and clinical material on intelligence and its deviations. The subject is presented in such a way that it may be used in courses in departments of psychology and medicine."

Probably the chapter on "Environment and Intelligence" is of the most interest to most rural sociologists. One looks in vain, however, for any reference to what is still, in this reviewer's opinion, the most significant study on rural-urban environmental differentials in "intelligence" as measured by conventional tests—the study by Myra E. Shimberg, quoted at length in Sorokin,

Zimmerman, and Galpin's *Source Book for Rural Sociology*.

Sherman admits that the importance of some of the recent University of Iowa Child Welfare Institute studies of nursery school and foster home environmental influences on intelligence "cannot be overestimated." But his fundamental position can hardly be characterized as environmentalist. The following passage is illustrative:

For example, a child who has never been exposed to pictures or play materials would naturally not be able to succeed on some tests in the Stanford-Binet scale. This does not mean, however, that the test itself is faulty but rather that the child has not had the opportunity to express his intelligence in the *normal* way. Because environmental influences may determine performance, and thus measurability, many psychologists believe that intelligence tests should attempt to measure capacity in such a way that performance should *not be influenced* by the environment. (P. 225. Italics added.)

It is hard for this reviewer to see how Sherman, with his Blue Ridge Mountain field work experience, can speak with such assurance of "the normal" environment. And whether environment can ever "determine" test performance or not, the proposal advanced in his last quoted sentence is sociologically a rank absurdity.

In spite of these criticisms, the psychological or medical student will doubtless find that Sherman has conscientiously summarized much of the recent literature on intelligence and such matters as psychosis, mental deficiency, specific brain pathology, epilepsy, Mongolism, and cretinism. There are also chapters on the definition of intelligence, mental growth, intelligence and physical development, intelligence and delinquency, mental testing, the adjustment of the defective, some genetic problems, and intellectual superiority. Bibliography, glossary and index conclude the work.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Principles for Peace.* Edited by Harry C. Koenig. Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1943. Pp. xxv + 894. \$7.50.

The appearance in 1943 of this bulky volume occasioned relatively little comment and now that the war is ended it is being eclipsed by less formidable and less expensive works purporting to contain the formula and no simple and easy way to achieve principles for peace this collection of papal documents makes clear beyond any doubt. Here is a variety of pronouncements—encyclical letters, messages to dignitaries of church and state, allocutions to the College of Cardinals, radio addresses to the world, holiday messages, greetings to pilgrims., and even remarks to newly-wed couples—sociologists will find discerning statements of the attitudes, arts, circumstances, and conditions that make for peace. They will find no solution for political problems, for the popes are religious leaders, not statesmen.

In editing *Principles for Peace* for the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points, the Reverend Koenig has performed a generous service. The popes of our time have been diligent students of many aspects of human affairs. These documents attest magnificently to the comprehensiveness of their interest in and knowledge of human problems and of the truly universal nature of their pastorate. The papers are chronologically arranged, beginning with the Encyclical "Inscrutabili Dei" of Leo XIII, April 21, 1878, and ending with the Christmas broadcast of Pius XII in 1942. The documents are in English but of many different translations which vary in quality. Each is headed by the words with which the complete document begins in its original language, the traditional method for identifying papal writing. This formal heading is followed by a summary stating the character and content of the enunciation. A comprehensive index to the topics discussed is provided, giving this work a research value frequently lacking in collections of this kind.

This is not a work for the casual student. In fact, a hasty survey of the docu-

ments is likely to leave a neutral, if not a negative impression. It is only on leisurely, reflective survey that the reader comes to understand that these messages, seemingly so diverse and unrelated, are of a whole and that this whole is principles for peace. How complex is peace we are only commencing to know. These documents can greatly further this knowledge. They deal not only with conditions between nations which promote peace but also cover in considerable detail many internal problems of national life. The popes have spoken frequently and with considerable technical insight on the tedious problems of economics which lie behind modern class struggle and many modern wars. They are aware of the importance institutional changes may hold for peace, but they go beyond these and seek to stir in the individual those moral sentiments on which all institutions must rest. The popes have not assumed that the human rights which they earnestly seek for every man and the peace they seek for every community can arise only under a democratic form of government. Students of society will do well to ponder this attitude for it is obviously not a hasty conclusion.

In his Introduction the Reverend Koenig raises this question: "When that hour strikes (the hour for making peace), what role will the Pope play in forging that instrument (the peace treaty) which will decisively determine the character of the post-war world?" To this question each man must make his own answer according to his own knowledge and convictions.

ROBERT W. HARRISON.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*Nationalism and After.* By Edward Hallett Carr. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. 76. \$1.25.

*Nationalism and After* is a clear, concise essay dealing with the evolutionary processes in national relationships. In a total of 76 pages the author explains that the development of nationalism has passed through at least three periods. The first one began with the gradual dissolution of the medieval unity of empire and church and

the establishment of the national state and national church (p. 2). In this period war became an instrument of mercantilist policy as well as its ultimate end. The second period issued from the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars and ended in 1914. It was a comparatively peaceful period, but peace was attained through a series of compromises. Qualities of aggressiveness and greed remained and nationalism failed to be a stepping stone for internationalism. Then came a third period which was characterized by a trend toward the socialization of the nation in the sense that it is becoming an agency of service for the people (the author called this "mass democracy"), the nationalization of economic policy, and the geographical extension of nationalism. These elements combined to produce totalitarian symptoms of the third period which culminated in World War II.

The world now stands at the threshold of a fourth period. While there may be some apparent ground for a pessimistic view of the future, certain basic trends point in the opposite direction. Gradually the claim of nationalism to make the state the sole rightful sovereign is being challenged and rejected (p. 40). On the other hand, the proposition that equality and well-being of individuals rather than of nations is the important consideration is gaining acceptance. Rights of individuals irrespective of national affinities or allegiance constitute a driving force for any future international order. Once these principles are accepted, international organization to maintain peace is a possibility. Some readers may not agree with the author's interpretation of historical facts but they cannot fail to realize that *Nationalism and After* is a competent analysis of social factors which contribute to the purpose, growth, and limitation of nationalism. The book is worthy of careful consideration by social scientists.

CHARLES R. HOFFER.

Michigan State College.

*The Story of the Springfield Plan.* By Clarence I. Chatto and Alice L. Halligan. New York: Barnes and Noble, Incorporated, 1945. Pp. xviii + 201. \$2.75.

In the glaring light of present needs, this little book deals with the most important single problem in the world today: how to get along with one another—not only over the fence in our own backyard, but over the backyard fences that national boundaries have become. And it doesn't stop with reminding us of the necessity of getting along together, and generalizing upon how and why it should be done, nor with a mere analysis of inter-personal or inter-cultural relations. It is the description of a perfectly tangible, concrete, and tested plan of education in these things which has been tried out in the school system of Springfield, Massachusetts, for the last five years.

"The Springfield Plan," as it has become known, is a carefully thought-out application at each grade-level and in each subject-area of a definite philosophy of education: that education is the process of "living, learning, working, and thinking together." This process, as is immediately apparent, is not limited to any age group—it is equally applicable to the young and the old. The program, therefore, though it originated in the schools, does not confine itself to the schools, but stretches out to include people of all ages and stations and many other aspects of community life. It is, in actuality, a *community plan* for improving human relations, and the school system is merely providing the leadership.

The activities devised for this "living, learning, working, and thinking together" are focussed on the elimination of the "four fatal delusions:" that one's own church alone expresses God's will on earth, that one class is superior, that one economic group can only prosper at the expense of another; and for these delusions substitute religious, political, social, and economic democracy respectively.

To a sociologist, the Springfield Plan seems a practical effort toward realizing a complex social aim. It attempts a difficult sociological double-play: to integrate dis-

parate groups into school and community life while preserving and utilizing their special contributions. It is characterized by intelligent recognition of the chief problem in community action: securing full participation by inarticulate, illiterate groups. The sociological note is strongly stressed from kindergarteners on up, one aim being "to develop a working familiarity with a basic sociological vocabulary."

If the core subjects in the curriculum are not lost in the shuffle, it would seem that both Springfield as a community and its school children can only profit by thus enriching the curriculum. The success of this program holds great promise for other communities.

MARY L. DE GIVE.

Rochester, New York.

*Where Do People Take Their Troubles?* By Mrs. Lee R. Steiner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. Pp. 264. \$3.00.

Applied sociologists, social workers, and others who have been engaged in the business of helping people out of trouble have long known that there was a large number of quacks and near quacks selling their "cures" and services to those unfortunate persons looking for surecease from real and imaginary ailments. To the many thousands of sufferers from these emotional afflictions "Doctors of Psychology" have had a magic attraction. Some years ago when the writer of this review was making a study of rural and small town churches in a typical rural county of the state of Washington, he found that the drab little churches in the country towns located "across the tracks" and "over in the flats" were growing most rapidly in membership. As the investigation proceeded, it was learned that those simple-minded, often illiterate and almost always untrained ministers who practiced the art of "divine healing" along with their Christian ministry, were most successful in attracting new members. The wandering, migratory rural workers of the Northwest, with little income, no homes or even places to call their homes, and almost entirely without medical care, sought relief from their mental worries

and their physical ailments from the "Divine Healers." In tents and in little churches often could be seen special booths conspicuously labelled "Divine Healing."

Mrs. Steiner, a social worker and consultant in "personal problems," has surveyed the situation with respect to the practices of the "mental doctors" and the advisors on personality development and summarized her findings in *Where Do People Take Their Troubles?* To get herself on sure ground and in close touch with the arts of the counsellors, healers, and success advisors, Mrs. Steiner subjected herself as a patient to a number of the practitioners.

The ways of serving and exploiting the emotionally disturbed and troubled people seeking solace and aspiring to health, happiness, and success, Mrs. Steiner shows to be many and varied. The practitioners of these occult arts have many and peculiarly lettered degrees; they syndicate their counsel through the press; they commiserate with their patients over the air; they guide the uncertain into promising vocations; they provide rendezvous for lonely hearts and find mates for the most forlorn; they convert theology into therapy; they entrance patients with hypnotism; they tell the future destiny of the insecure; and they furnish the exact formula for personality development and life success.

This little book is profitable reading for social workers, teachers, ministers, government workers, and others who are making daily contacts with the many thousands who are having troubles. This reviewer suggests that Mrs. Steiner or someone else make another study as to *why* so many thousands take their troubles to these practitioners of little facility, and give us a scientific analysis of this curious phenomenon in our most enlightened age.

FRED R. YODER.  
State College of Washington.

*Education for Use of Regional Resources.*  
I. The Report of Gatlinburg Conference  
II. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945. Pp. 129.  
This report of the second conference held

at Gatlinburg, Tennessee under the auspices of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education deals with the methods and procedures which are needed to implement special projects in the field of research translation and resource-use education. Part I describes the backgrounds of Gatlinburg Conference II, and tells what went on during the conference. Part II gives the reports of specialists who discussed resource-use and regional development. Professor Paul B. Sears of Oberlin College dealt with the subject "Man and Nature in the Modern World." Experts from the Tennessee Valley Authority discussed the subject, "Resources: A Basis for Understanding." Finally Professor Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina pointed out how "The Sociologist Looks at Resource-Use Education."

These specialists emphasized the need for changes in human culture which will insure the maintenance of the balance of nature. Unless this is done, "nature will put it (the culture) out of circulation, as she has done with many cultures in the past. Since we wish to keep on going, it is well to know how cultures can change and reform themselves."

Part III deals with reports of conference committees which suggest procedures and programs for resource-use education and research translation. Suggestions include a recommendation that a volume on regional resources be published, that material services be established at regional, state and local levels, that the committee publish a news letter, that various techniques be used in resource-use education, that non-school agencies be interested in the problem, and that institutions of higher education emphasize resource-use education.

The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education through conferences such as the one held at Gatlinburg and its other activities is attempting to coordinate the activities of the many agencies, regional, state and local, which are trying to improve the quality of living in the South, and to introduce into the educational system the

scientific facts which will enable the people of the South to use the rich resources of the region in such a way as to establish a good life which will be permanent. If the report of this conference is used widely the South will cease to be a colony of the centers of wealth and dominance and will no longer be listed as the Number One Problem of the nation.

ROBERT I. KUTAK.

University of Louisville.

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*When You Marry.* By Evelyn M. Duvall and Reuben Hill. New York: Association Press, 1945. Pp. xiv + 450. \$3.00.

This book, as the publishers say, covers the whole gamut of personal relationships "from first date to last baby." In the words of Professor Ernest W. Burgess, who writes a foreword, the book is superior to many in the same field in its presentation of "the findings of recent research in several pertinent disciplines as they have practical application to the many adjustments to marriage and family living;" in the readability and liveliness of style, which "makes it usable not only for students of the family but also for all young people possibly interested in getting married;" and for "its wide coverage of interrelated fields and in their synthesis into a new educational approach."

The present reviewer has been impressed by the wealth of information which the book provides, and by the informal tone of presentation throughout. The functional approach contributes to its readability. The reader is carried along easily from stage to stage along the whole path of relationship between men and women as they travel their way to marriage and beyond.

It may be that the very completeness of treatment gives rise to certain inevitable difficulties. For example, the sexually inexperienced young people who read and discuss together Chapter VII, Marriage and the Facts of Life, may possibly develop a premature preoccupation with whatever mystery there may be still remaining for them in the field of sex experience.

Then there is the problem of the girls who do well in a course based on the book,

becoming very well prepared for marriage, due largely to the excellent aid provided by the book, only to find that in the pairing off of their associates that they get left out merely because there aren't men enough to go around. One can readily picture such a young woman vainly thumbing her way through the volume, looking for the section which would clearly tell her just what to do next. To be sure, there is the suggestion that she might go to Alaska, where there are 145 men to every hundred women. But even if women were to distribute themselves over the country in the same proportions as the men, there would still be too many of them from the standpoint of an adequate functioning of a system of complete and enduring monogamy. The authors admit that America may be headed for the condition now obtaining in Sweden where "a large percentage of young women" live openly with men before marrying, or without ever marrying. Still they strongly advise their American readers against premarital sexual intercourse.

The whole matter of sex and marital mores is one of confusion, as is true generally of our life at present. Increased knowledge may not serve to reduce the confusion. It probably is the case that a vast amount of inner turmoil is inevitable as humanity works out new standards for itself.

ROY H. HOLMES.

University of Michigan.

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*Government in Public Health.* By Harry S. Mustard. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. xvi + 219. \$1.50.

This publication represents the second of a series of studies undertaken by the "Committee on Medicine and the Changing Order" of the Council of the New York Academy of Medicine. This committee was established in 1942 and began its work in February, 1943. It is composed of physicians, representatives of the allied professions, dentistry and nursing, and laymen. The individuals chosen were particularly interested in the problems of health, preventive medi-

cine and social welfare. This committee has undertaken to enlist a series of experts to compose and publish a series of monographs devoted to the major medical problems of today. They have selected for the authors of these monographs recognized experts and afforded them full freedom in their work. Although this and the other monographs form an integral part of the committee's studies their publications do not necessarily imply the committee's endorsement of statements of fact or opinion but are entirely the responsibility of the authors.

The author of this monograph is especially well qualified to present the subject of public health and its development. Here he emphasizes the rapid extension of the field of public health as one of the important trends in modern medicine. He shows how public health activity originated as a local responsibility and how the state and federal governments have become interested and how, though public health service must be administered largely at the local level the trend is toward greater federal assistance and indirect control. Although historic in perspective, it presents clearly the health problems of today and suggests future trends. In his first chapter he rationalizes the development of public health and its policies as a governmental procedure. In later chapters he gives consideration to federal, state and local health services individually.

This is a concise guide to the numerous ramifications of government in public health and of public health in government. Physicians, public health workers, social workers and others interested in the place of medicine in the changing order should read this monograph.

R. E. TEAGUE, M.D.  
Kentucky State Department of Health.

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*Voluntary Health Agencies.* By Selskar M. Gunn and Philip S. Platt. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1945. Pp. xviii + 364. \$3.00.

In a foreword to this report, Dr. Dublin writes, "Until very recently, there has been a dearth of information on the voluntary

health movement as a whole. We have had few facts as to the extent of the movement, its resources, finances and modes of operation. It was to correct this situation that the National Health Council . . . launched the present study in 1941. Its purpose was to bring together such facts and observations with regard to the voluntary health agencies of the United States as would give an overall picture of what was being done at the various levels, national, state and local."

This undertaking was carried out by personal interviews and mailed questionnaires. The investigation involved two years of field work in 65 cities and 29 states, covering 569 voluntary agencies and 143 official agencies, and involving about 1,100 personal interviews. The voluntary agencies studied were selected from a total of over 20,000, meeting the definitions established for the study. The book represents an orderly presentation of the origins and growth of voluntary agencies, their functions, money-raising techniques, and their problems. In addition to the detailed discussion of voluntary health agencies, the authors have included special chapters on (1) professional organizations such as the American Medical Association and the American Dental Association, (2) the American National Red Cross, (3) volunteers, and (4) health activities of civic and welfare organizations.

The rural sociologist will be particularly interested in the chapter on "The Democratic Process at Work" where the authors discuss the methods of mobilizing local resources by the use of "advisory councils," "lay committees," and variations of the "block leader" plan. All students of social organization could read with great profit the authors' strong case for unification of voluntary health agencies especially at state and local levels. The multiplicity of "fund-raising" campaigns along with a lack of integration among the health agencies will ultimately lead to confusion and doubt on the part of the public. Moreover, as the authors rightly point out "the support which some of the voluntary health agencies received on a very large scale is in striking

contrast to the relative neglect of other fields."

The report is well documented and includes appendix materials on the agencies visited and studied, statistical tables, and a self-evaluation schedule for voluntary health agencies.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.  
U. S. Public Health Service.

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*Scientific Social Surveys and Research.* By Pauline V. Young. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1944. Pp. xxxvi + 619. \$3.00.

Interest in social research and social surveys will mount in the postwar years. Students preparing for all walks of life will need to know the value and methods of scientific social inquiry. Dr. Young's book, written in an interesting and challenging style, is an excellent medium by which these students can become acquainted with the background, objectives, content, and techniques of the social survey.

A careful distinction is drawn between social research and social surveys. Both may employ scientific methods but the former attempts to set forth generalizations that give meaning and understanding to the social order while the end product of the latter is social betterment. Charles Booth clearly used the social survey as an instrument to correct specific evils existing in the London of his day. Frederic Le Play combined social survey and social research in his study of the family budgets of European working people. Dr. Young traces the survey movement from these early beginnings through the "muckraking" days in the United States to Philip Klein's *A Social Study of Pittsburg*.

She has assembled points of view, illustrations, and concepts seldom found under a single cover. At one point she discusses scientific attitude. A few pages later appear detailed instructions on the preparation of a bibliography. Other topics include the case study and historical methods, the interview, questionnaire and schedule, documentary and personal sources of information, socio-metric scales, and the collection, organization, and analysis of data. Dr. Calvin F.

Schmid has prepared sections dealing with statistical concepts and techniques, the ecological method in social research, and a very well illustrated chapter entitled "Graphic Presentation." Toward the end of the book are several chapters devoted to social institutions, cultural groups, and community life. These will be especially helpful for students lacking introductory courses in sociology. A carefully selected and extremely useful bibliography is given for each chapter.

Three shortcomings of the book are apparent to this reviewer. The dangers and pitfalls awaiting social researchers and social surveyors are not sufficiently emphasized. Only occasional words of caution have been inserted. Dr. Schmid has less than two pages devoted to common statistical errors. A more exhaustive treatment of causality and the principles of logic would help students avoid faulty reasoning and improper generalization. Secondly, the uniqueness of the different methods of social inquiry was overstressed. Case study and statistical methods were treated almost as mutually exclusive techniques. Actually statistical data sometimes can be analyzed by the case grouping method so that clusters of traits stand out and individual cases are not lost in the process of abstraction. Finally, the book has a definite urban accent. Nevertheless, rural sociologists will find *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* a valuable tool for instruction.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*Economic Problems of Latin America.*

Edited by Seymour E. Harris. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1944. Pp. xiv + 465. \$4.00.

Seventeen authors (most of them connected with the U. S. Office of Price Administration, the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, or the State Department) have contributed to this volume. It is divided into eighteen chapters, grouped into three parts. A listing of these brings out the general scope and nature of the book. Chapter I, "Introduction: Some Major

Issues," alone makes up Part I. Part II, "General Considerations," includes chapters on "Economic Problems of the Latin American Republics" by Frank A. Waring, "War and Postwar Agricultural Problems of Latin America" by L. A. Wheeler, "Central Banking and Monetary Management in Latin America" by Robert Triffin, "Fiscal Policy and the Budget" by Henry C. Wallach, "Price Stabilization Programs in Latin America" and "Exchanges and Prices" by Seymour E. Harris, and "Inter-American Trade Policy" by Henry Chalmers. Part III, "Special Country Studies," includes "Argentina" by Miron Burgin, "Bolivia" by William A. Neiswanger and James R. Nelson, "Brazil's Economy in the War and After" by Corwin D. Edwards, "Chile" by P. T. Ellsworth, "Colombia, with Particular Reference to Price Control" by Ben W. Lewis and Henry Beitcher, "Cuba: Sugar and Currency" by Henry C. Wallach, "Haiti" by Don D. Humphrey, "Mexico: with Special Reference to Its International Economic Relations" by Norman T. Ness, "Paraguay: with Particular Reference to Price Control" by George R. Taylor, and "Venezuela" by E. G. Bennion. There is no Conclusion but the contributors are identified in a few preliminary pages; and a short Appendix gives data on areas and populations of Latin American countries, along with a meager list of sources. A brief Index is also included.

A book of this kind is difficult to appraise. Many of the authors have thought it necessary to include some very elementary facts concerning the countries they were writing about. These data often seem strangely out of place alongside the highly technical economic jargon found in the same paragraphs. Some of the differences brought by the comparisons were reversed before the book got through the process of manufacturing. The accounts of many of the cases selected for purposes of illustration end just when the most significant changes got underway. On the whole, the editorial job was poorly done, errors in spelling are not a few, and typographical errors sometimes (for example, pp. 87, 96) completely destroy the

meaning of the sentences. Latin Americans will smile at the use of *colon* (for *colono*) as a designation for the Bolivian agricultural worker (p. 262). However, several of the chapters, and particularly numbers II, III and IV, give evidence that the authors were thoroughly conversant with the problems they were writing about.

T. LYNN SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

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*The Church in Our Town.* By Rockwell C. Smith. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945. Pp. 190. \$1.50.

This is a very readable little book. It discusses primarily the rural community. This it defines in terms of attitudes and way of life rather than in geographical boundaries or group sizes. It includes both small-town people and farmers. The book covers such topics as the framework of rural society, the family, neighborhood and community. It discusses rural organizations, village trade, education and welfare. The United Mine Workers Union is described because it is essentially a rural group. One brief chapter is given to the rural church and two chapters to phases of the relation of the church to the community.

This is not a book on methods but is an evaluation of the place and work of the church as a part of community life. It makes suggestions, however, as to what can be done about specific problems. These are brought in as illustrations of how churches have solved similar problems. This is good educational technique. A chapter on fitting the church to the community differs from the approach usually followed in the book by outlining methods of studying the community.

The source material used in the earlier chapters gives the impression that the book is one on a particular denomination in the community instead of religious institutions in general. More data on all church groups would have been helpful.

Some statements should have had more supporting data or been omitted. For example, in referring to farmer organizations it is said: "There has been a willingness

on their part . . . to sacrifice the general welfare, even in the midst of war, for the private welfare of a select group. Such a willingness defends its own position with the only possible ammunition — misrepresentation of facts."

This book is a real contribution to the literature of rural life. It should help rural church leaders to understand better the place of the church in rural life and to see better what the church can do in rural improvement.

PAUL L. VOGT.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*One Nation.* By Wallace Stegner and the Editors of *Look*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. Pp. vii + 340. \$3.75.

The purpose of this book as stated in the Foreword is "to present a treatment" of our racial and religious "minorities in picture-text which may be communicable to those of our fellow citizens who stand to profit most from its revelations." "The editorial point of view" of the book is "forthright" and "liberal" and is what one would expect from socially conscious journalism. The senior author is Professor of American literature. This work might be regarded as a popular counterpart of the more academic treatments on minority groups.

Seven racial and nationality groups, and two religious minorities found in the United States are described. These are the Negro, the Indian, the Mexican, the Filipino, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Hispano, and the Catholic and the Jew. Over three hundred pictures are integrated with the text in this presentation. Of the fourteen chapters, some typical headings are: "Legally Undesirable Heroes: The Filipino in America," "Lost Generation: The Pachucos of Los Angeles," and "The Trapdoor in the Ceiling: A Record of Negro Achievement." Sections dealing with the groups who are predominantly or totally rural and the chapter entitled "Black Wave: The Negro Migration Northward" would have special relevance for those interested in rural life.

This book might be used as supple-

mentary material in a course in minority groups by those teachers who consider some popularization and pictorial presentation desirable. It might serve to create interest and as a prelude to a more comprehensive, systematic and academic treatment of the subject.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

University of Kentucky.

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*Country Flavor.* By Haydn S. Pearson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Incorporated, 1945. Pp. 112. \$2.75.

Opening the book at random, one finds an excellent rustic photograph on the left page and a flavorsome word sketch, a kind of nature editorial, on the right page. The writing is nice, a little over-alliterative, but quite therapeutic to a nostalgic rural-urban migrant. The 75 pieces are selected from the author's contributions to the *New York Times*. It's a pleasant and a quiet book to come upon in this day of many tensions and commotions.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.

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*Seasonal Farm Labor in the United States.*  
By Harry Schwartz. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 172. \$2.25.

Seemingly any monograph on seasonal farm labor in the United States is timely, no matter when its publication, for whether the times be good or bad, seasonal farm labor is a problem. In the volume here reviewed, Dr. Schwartz has added a valuable title to the already extensive bibliography on farm labor in the United States. Perhaps his chief contribution is his collection and synthesis into one compact volume of a mass of hitherto scattered data and ideas.

Were the work titled, "Social Economics of Seasonal Farm Labor in the United States," the reader would be given a more accurate idea of the content of the volume. Schwartz consistently and skillfully interprets the problem of seasonal farm labor from the viewpoint of economics, while retaining a balanced approach which recog-

nizes the human beings and social relationships involved.

The author stresses the important fact that the seasonal farm labor force typically has been a residual group, "residual in the sense that a large fraction of its members would have preferred non-farm employment, and took agricultural jobs only because of the absence of alternative work."

Schwartz points also to the influence of technology; "Much of the seasonal labor difficulty faced by American agriculture in the two decades before Pearl Harbor resulted from the much more rapid development of machines and techniques for handling the preparation of the soil, the sowing of crops, and cultivation than of machines and techniques for taking in the harvest."

In his final chapter the author speculates on the postwar prospects for seasonal farm labor. Weighing various factors influencing supply and demand, including the possibility of governmental intervention in more crops, and keeping an historical perspective, the author comes to the pessimistic, but probably realistic conclusion, that "as in the past, therefore, the chief postwar hope for farm workers must rest on the maintenance of nonfarm prosperity and of opportunities for escape from agricultural employment."

Space forbids comment on more details, including Schwartz's review of efforts to unionize agricultural workers, and employer resistance to such efforts. Although there is little that is essentially new in this work, it is decidedly worthwhile as a reference work, and should be on the required reading list of any rural sociology course which purports to treat the topic of farm labor. It is well-written and easily read by the non-specialist. It should be in the library of any college located in a state in which seasonal farm labor is a problem. While limited in its area of treatment, because of war-induced causes, the book is nonetheless adequate to give a general over-all picture of the problem of seasonal farm labor.

CARL F. REUSS.

Capital University.

## OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

*One Foot on the Soil.* By Paul W. Wager. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1945. Pp. xiv + 230.

*Education for Rural America.* By Floyd W. Reeves. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 213. \$2.50.

*Post-War Jobs.* Edited by Nelson and Henrietta Poynter. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 211. Cloth bound, \$2.50. Paper bound, \$2.00.

*A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem.* By Milton Steinberg. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1945. Pp. 308. \$3.00.

*Freedom Under Planning.* By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 180. \$2.00.

*Tomorrow's Trade.* By Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. Pp. x + 156. \$1.00.

*The World's Hunger.* By Frank A. Pearson and Floyd A. Harper. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1945. Pp. 90. \$1.50.

*The Wages of Farm and Factory Laborers, 1914-1944.* By Daniel J. Ahearn, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 245. \$3.00.

*United For Freedom.* Edited by Leo R. Ward. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1945. Pp. vii + 264. \$2.50.

*The Family.* By Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke. New York: American Book Company, 1945. Pp. xvi + 800. \$4.25.

*Economic Progress and Social Security.* By A. G. B. Fisher. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. xii + 362. \$5.00.

*100% Money.* By Irving Fisher. New Haven, Connecticut: The City Printing Company, 1946. Pp. 257. \$1.00.

*Problems of the Countryside.* By C. S. Orwin. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. 111. \$1.25.

*One Man.* By P. O. Davis. Auburn: The Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1945. Pp. 125.

*North Dakota Weather and The Rural Economy.* By J. M. Gillette. Bismarck, North Dakota: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1945. Pp. 98. \$.75.

*A Business of My Own.* By Arthur E. Morgan. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Community Service, Incorporated, 1945. Pp. 160. \$0.75.

*Supervising People.* By George D. Halsey. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. x + 233. \$3.00.

*Education for Action.* By Willard W. Beatty. Chicago: Education Division United States Indian Service, 1944. Pp. 347. \$2.00.

*Living Costs in World War II.* By Philip Murray and R. J. Thomas. Washington: Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1944. Pp. 236.

*The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne.* Edited by Charles Duffy. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. ix + 111. \$2.00.

*Post-War Markets.* Edited by E. Jay Howenstein. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 184. Cloth bound, \$2.50. Paper bound, \$2.00.

*National Health Agencies.* By Harold M. Cavins. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 251. \$3.00.

*Nationalities and National Minorities.* By Oscar I. Janowsky. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xix + 232. \$2.75.

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Edited by Leland B. Tate*

**BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY:** John Useem recently returned from the South Pacific where he served as a member of Admiral Nimitz's staff and later as military governor of Palau. Since his release from the Navy he has been a visiting lecturer here in sociology. He spent three years in the Navy and participated in several invasions of the former Japanese mandates.

**IOWA STATE COLLEGE:** Dr. Joseph B. Gittler has joined the staff of Iowa State College as Associate Professor of Sociology. He will teach theory and develop the sociology of technology. He has his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was formerly Professor of Sociology at the University of Georgia, spent one year as Research Associate with the Virginia State Planning Board, and for the past two years has been Professor and Head of Sociology at Drake University. His most recent publication is *Virginia's People: A Cultural Panorama*, Population Study Report No. 5, Virginia State Planning Board, 1944.

**MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE:** Solon Kimball, Ph.D., Harvard, recently joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Michigan State College Experiment Station, as Associate Professor. He will devote half time to teaching and half time to research; hence, is the first anthropologist to be employed by a land-grant college under this arrangement. He came to Michigan State College from the War Location Authority where he worked on the Navajo Reservation as joint

employee of the Soil Conservation and Indian Services, and is now engaged in making several case studies of agricultural extension projects. He is joint author of *The Family and Community in Ireland*.

Frederick Thaden was granted nine months leave from teaching and research beginning last October. He plans to spend his leave traveling and studying, principally in the Southwest. The map resulting from his Purnell project, "The Delineation of Ethnic and Religious Groups in Michigan," is now in the publication stage.

Walter Firey's doctor's dissertation, *The Role of Social Values in Land Use Patterns of Central Boston*, is being published by the Harvard University Press. Firey, who is a joint staff member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Department of Effective Living also does research in the Agricultural Experiment Station. He is now making a social ecological analysis of three neighborhoods in the congested fringe area of Flint.

Richard Myers, Ph.D., University of Michigan, and formerly instructor there in Sociology, joined the staff last September. He teaches a course entitled, "Social Aspects of Modern Industrialism."

Paul Honigsheim spent most of last summer working at the University of Chicago on his *Sociology of Music* and special monographs commemorating the 25th anniversary of Max Weber's death.

Chas. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, was on a War Department assignment in the Ameri-

can, French, and British zones of occupation in Germany during part of the past year.

OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE: Dr. William H. Sewell (on leave with the U. S. Naval Reserve and recently returned to the United States from Japan where he assisted in conducting a study of the influence of bombing upon the morale of the Japanese) has resigned his position as professor of rural sociology to become associate professor of rural sociology at the University of Wisconsin upon his separation from the Navy. Sewell's work here culminated in the development of his scale for the measurement of the socio-economic status of farm families in Oklahoma.

Paul B. Foreman, University of Mississippi and recently Captain A.G.D. U. S. Army, has accepted the position of Professor of Sociology effective February 1, 1946. Dr. Foreman will direct the teaching of the introductory course in general sociology and will conduct advanced courses and research on conflict and minority groups.

Dr. James F. Page, Professor of Sociology, will spend the spring semester on leave teaching courses in criminology and race problems at the University of Arizona.

The Social Science Research Council is publishing the research memorandum, *Social Research on Health*, prepared under the auspices of the Southern Regional Committee, of which Dean Raymond D. Thomas is chairman, in February of this year. This memorandum was written by O. D. Duncan with the assistance of a work group composed of social scientists from various fields working mainly in southern colleges and universities during the war years.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA: The work of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work at the University of North Dakota is carried on in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and the Division of Social Work, the latter being a part of the former.

J. M. Gillette is titular head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and has been Research Professor since the

beginning of the academic year, 1943-44. Professor T. W. Cape is Director of the Division of Social Work. His instructional work is in sociology and anthropology. Associate Professor A. L. Lincoln, M.A. in Social Work, University of Oklahoma, instructs in social work courses, supervises case work, and advises in social work matters in the state at large. K. T. Wiltse, M.A. in Social Work, University of Chicago, is instructor in social work. Mrs. Maude Barnes, Juvenile Commissioner in the northeast district of the state, gives a course in social work. An additional staff member is to be added in sociology and anthropology.

J. M. Gillette, Ph.D. University of Chicago, has been at the head of Sociology in the institution since 1907 and is in his 39th year of service. His research work for the year 1943-44 was devoted to Mounds and Mound Builders of the United States, the results having been published in the organ of the North Dakota State Historical Society in 1944. His research efforts of 1944-45 were devoted to North Dakota weather and its influence on the rural economy of the state. The final paper was published in North Dakota History, January-June, double number, 1945. A reprint appeared as NORTH DAKOTA WEATHER AND THE RURAL ECONOMY, Bulletin 11, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, the University of North Dakota. His present research undertaking is devoted to the reasons and causes of farm enlargement in North Dakota. This will appear as Bulletin 12 of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO: Chancellor Jaime Benitez announces the appointment of Clarence Senior, formerly Chief Foreign Economic Specialist, Bureau of Areas, Foreign Economic Administration, as Visiting Professor of Social Science and Acting Director of the Social Science Research Center. Mr. Senior will make a study of land redistribution program in addition to teaching.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY: Dr. Harold T. Christensen, Department Head, has returned to the campus after one year's leave

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

of absence, during which time he was employed by the War Food Administration in the Office of Labor, Washington, D. C., and by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as Regional Leader for the northeastern area of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

Ariel S. Ballif has been awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree by the University of Southern California. His dissertation was on the subject "An analysis of the Behavior of Rural People on Relief in Utah County, Utah, during the Years 1932-1943." Dr. Ballif, who recently was Relocation Adjustment Advisor for the inter-mountain

area of the War Relocation Authority, resumed his position at Brigham Young University on January 1.

John C. Swenson, Professor Emeritus, is assisting with special courses for upper division and graduate students.

Professors Christensen and Ballif have both been appointed members of a special Utah Legislative Tax Study Committee with special assignments in the field of public welfare. After a somewhat comprehensive and extensive study of the tax system and sources of revenue in the state, the committee will make recommendations to the legislature.



**FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**  
**1945**

**Receipts**

Balance from Polson	\$ 721.99
<b>Memberships paid to Tate:</b>	
1 part payment of 50¢	\$.50
25 Student memberships @ \$2.00	50.00
3 part payments @ \$2.50	7.50
141 Memberships @ \$3.00	423.00
1 Joint membership @ \$3.50	3.50
2 Contributing memberships @ \$5.00 and \$10.00	15.00     499.50
 <b>Total</b>	 \$1,221.49

**Expenditures**

Rural Sociology—C. H. Hamilton	
Payment for subscriptions to the Journal	\$ 450.00
Postage and envelopes	47.50
Printing	21.75
	\$ 519.25
Gross Balance	\$ 702.24
Less account due for subscriptions to Journal	530.00
Petite Balance	\$ 172.24
Plus account receivable from sale of back issues of Journal	62.77
Potential Balance	\$ 235.01

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY**

By the Managing Editor

Fiscal Year January 1, to December 31, 1945

**Receipts**

Cash on hand January 1, 1945	\$1,438.85
From Rural Sociological Society on 1944 business (Polson)	18.75
From Rural Sociological Society on 1945 business (Tate)	980.00
General subscriptions and sales	1,366.57
Reprint sales to authors	199.48
Sales of back numbers for the Society	69.75
Subsidy from North Carolina State College	250.00
 <b>Total Income</b>	 \$4,323.90

## Expenditures

Printing JOURNAL	\$2,009.31*
Reprints	201.54
Postage and other communications	147.00
Stationery and advertizing	123.35
Other supplies	18.50
Clerical help on typing and mailing JOURNAL	65.10
Travel, Managing Editor	91.37
Miscellaneous Printing	19.28
To the Society on 1944 business (Polson)	51.51
To the Society on 1945 business (Tate)	68.50
To the Society on sale of back numbers	62.77
Educational Press Membership	5.00
Drayage	3.00
Refund on a subscription	2.75
 Total expenditures	\$2,868.98
Cash on hand December 31, 1945	\$1,454.92**
Total Income	\$4,323.90
Cash on hand December 31, 1945	\$1,454.92**

\* Includes December 1944 issue

\*\* Includes \$676.00 for 1946 subscriptions

## CLASSIFICATION OF 1945 MEMBERSHIP

348 Active memberships
40 Student memberships
1 Honorary membership
2 Contributing memberships
1 Joint membership
7 Military memberships

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399 Total memberships\*

\* The total memberships in 1944 were 358, in 1943, 329, in 1942, 389

## CIRCULATION OF THE JOURNAL

	1944	1945
Total Circulation for December	890	968
Members, domestic	351	380
Members, foreign	15*	19
Libraries, domestic	281	317
Libraries, foreign	49	33
Subscribers, domestic	46	55
Subscribers, foreign	2	12
Exchanges, domestic	64	65
Complimentary, domestic	58	48
Complimentary, foreign	3	3
Exchanges, foreign	21	23
Service men	—	18

\* Included 8 complimentary military memberships.

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## Sociology Tomorrow\*

*By Edmund deS. Brunner†*

In a sense the junior society which I represent has entered its thirty-fifth year. At the Christmas meetings in 1911 a dozen of us gathered several times in a hotel room to discuss rural life. Kenyon Butterfield, Dwight Sanderston, Charles Galpin, and Warren Wilson were among that group. Most of the rest of us did not yet have our doctorate. Out of that meeting and its successors grew the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society, and finally the Rural Sociological Society with its now 400 members and a vigorous journal. This society has remained, and probably will remain, close to the parent body. It is concerned with sociology in its application to fifty million or more people in this country, and increasingly to more than a billion other earth-bound humans on this globe. Its practitioners here and those of other peoples have carried its techniques into every continent, every major country and many small countries of the globe. Its bibliography includes practically every state in the Union. Abroad it ranges from Argentina and Brazil to Salvador and Colombia, from India and China to Korea and Siam, from Australia to Samoa. The delegations to the San Francisco Conference, especially from the smaller

nations, contained an amazing number of persons with Ph.D.'s from American universities who had either majored in rural sociology or in rural education with a minor in rural sociology.

In thirty-five years this child of the American Sociological Society has grown to maturity, established world-wide contacts, and through them has begun to provide world-wide service. It is not wholly unprepared to meet the demands of an age ushered in last summer in New Mexico and at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is not my intention to make these remarks historical. It is my conviction that social science must face the future, but there are certain developments in the history of rural sociology that contribute to the convictions many of us share with respect to the function of sociology at such a time as this.

The early focus of rural sociology was problem solving. It had a practical orientation. From Wilson and Gill's early studies of the church and its socio-economic environment, from Galpin's early studies of the community, to mention only a few types, grew programs and policies. Moreover, in proportion to their numbers, rural sociologists, from federal and state college of agriculture sources, commanded each year, and perhaps still command, more research funds than any other branch of sociology.

\* Presidential address at joint dinner meeting of the Rural Sociological Society and the American Sociological Society, Cleveland, March 1, 1946.

† Columbia University.

Many of these researchists in the early days eschewed all concern with theory. If they had any hypothesis it was that, given new knowledge, social problems could be more readily solved. This approach, said some of their critics, was unscientific, neither sociology nor scholarship.

The retort of the rural sociologists, when they took time out to retort, which was seldom, was sharp and perhaps equally unfair. The theorists and so-called scholars, they claimed, did so little empirical research that they did not know the facts of social life. Hence they developed systems in which comparable illustrations of social life were interpreted in terms of differently named but actually similar concepts, and then spent their time in dialectical arguments over these terms and the interpretation thereof, after the manner of theologians. In this contention they had powerful support from one of the great sociologists of that day, Giddings.

As I recall, this controversy reached its peak about 1931, when I last headed the group I represent tonight as chairman of the Rural Section of the American Society. It was one of the causes of our founding a separate organization. Were we not all wiser today I would not allude to it. We see now, I believe, that our semantic battles were caused in part by the inevitable differences in procedure and material between the so-called physical and social sciences, for all our efforts to copy the former, and between theorists long inured

to a drought of research funds and researchists overenthusiastic over their new opportunities.

Further, we see now, I believe, as we look back, that some theory was implicit in most of the early rural studies, though not made explicit, in large part because of the practical outcomes desired by those who had to justify their research expenditures to legislators and voters. We have now begun to learn too, throughout society, to state research hypotheses in terms of our own problems and content. Finally, in perspective, we see that some of the formulations and theories of the early leaders of sociology have stood the test of time. Indeed, many of the empirical studies in rural sociology have confirmed and been based upon such formulations or concepts as Cooley's primary group or Wilson's statement in sociological terms of the theory of marginal utility, the latter a theoretical contribution of a rural sociologist. Moreover, there is clear evidence, from the rural as well as from other areas of sociology, that an increasing number of studies are conducted and also contribute according to the patterns, one might almost say the mores, of scientific research.

What I am doing, of course, is merely to document very briefly and therefore inadequately the fact that sociology, at least as illustrated by its rural aspects—and illustrations could be drawn from other areas of our discipline—has conformed to the history of other sciences. It has gone from particulars to generalizations,

then as the latter opened new vistas, raised new questions, suggested new hypotheses, on to new particulars which, in turn, will lead to new generalizations and greater certitude about the nature of society and the behavior of social groups.

Events of the last few months have pointed dramatically to a new development of more than passing significance to us. The objective of the physical scientist—ever to add more to the sum total of knowledge in his field—still obtains, an objective we share. But the relatively few physical scientists who were concerned about what happened to their discoveries in terms of human welfare have now been joined by many colleagues. This new, understandable, and overdue concern has given to some such a far more sympathetic understanding of the limitations and difficulties of their social science colleagues than they possessed before. It has also given them a far livelier appreciation of the importance and the possibilities of the social sciences. Perhaps the bombs that leveled Japanese cities have built a bridge, even though only a footbridge, between the physical and the social scientists. Therein is opportunity for us.

It is trite but true to say that if social science had been given early enough the four billion dollars that have been spent on the atomic bomb and on chemical and germ warfare, say half for research and half for education—or Extension, as we ruralites would say—perhaps then the first release of atomic energy would have

been for constructive, not destructive, purposes. This remark is not only true and trite, as I said, but also futile, if for no other reason than that all the social sciences together could not wisely have spent such a sum in a few years. But the recognition of our ability and right to contribute toward the cure of a sick world is now clear. In the new revision of the bill defining government's relation and contributions to science, in words at least, social and physical science are on a parity. The time of our opportunity is very near. And now what?

No one can answer that question, but answered it will be, and by all of us. If the answer is to be a greater appreciation of the function and service of sociology by the very society it is our job to study, we will have done our job well. At that point some of us are discouraged. The armed services, it seems, did not have jobs for sociologists as such. During the New Deal and the war some of us were tempted by administrative flesh-pots and strayed far from the reservation, or so the talk runs.

I wonder. For some years the only Navy School of International Administration was at my own university, and some of the officers detailed to take the training were sociologists by profession. I am conservative when I say they were as good as the representatives of any other profession. Read what some of them have written, not merely in our own journals but in those of wider circulation.

Look at the assignments some of them have had, and also some of our civilian members. And then hear them say, as some have to me and, I am sure, to some of you, that a goodly measure of their success is due to their training in our discipline. Consider that our State Department has sent and is sending rural sociologists as sociologists to a number of the South and Central American countries. It is too soon to give the data, but I am not the only one in this audience who knows of sociologists in administrative and advisory positions, who, out of their knowledge of society, were able to say with a high degree of accuracy with respect to proposed policies, "This you can do," or "This you can't do," or "If this must be done it must be done this way."

This last paragraph is not designed to glorify our profession, though it is pleasant so to do. Nor is it designed to raise the morale of any discouraged colleague. The implication is deeper. It is this: that the study of society has a high social utility. The learning we have and teach can be practiced. The practices, the behavior, of men can be studied, interpreted, and on that basis, if need be, eventually changed. There is both a theory and a practice of medicine, of education, of nuclear energy. Is it too much to say that society sets store by medicine, education, and physics to the degree that doctors, educators, and physicists move back and forth freely between the theoretical and applied aspects of their disciplines?

We in rural sociology at least, I believe, know this; for many of us come from institutions whose great research "stations" ever dare to put their theoretical and empirical research findings to the test of practical operation, on farms and in homes and in communities, through the Extension arm of these same institutions. Moreover, it is from the common man on his farm and functioning in his community that the researchers receive many of their problems.

To me then it seems that our next forward step is to banish whatever professional inferiorities we have and to state boldly what is known about collective human behavior, about society and its operation and the reasons thereof. For instance, one thing sociologists know quite a lot about is the behavior of institutions or, if you prefer, social organizations or agencies. It is of the nature of institutions that they live both for their purposes and their survival or rather their growth in power. This second aim is rarely made explicit. It is rationalized in terms of the first. The sociologist also knows that the result of this is that health or recreation leaders, churchmen or school men or what not, can make a case for their interest or institution that is convincing to their professional colleagues but which is too frequently unconvincing to the layman. It is no accident that some of the strongest local and even county or state institutions have been built by persons with sociological understanding of this point.

Again, much of the success or the failure of community organization for war purposes was determined to a considerable degree by considerations at work for many years. The sociologist knows that the social forces operating in a community have all had a past, that no community can be understood, let alone organized for any purpose whatsoever, unless the proposals are related to that past, unless they appear to fit into the on-going social processes of the community. It is a sociological axiom that no two communities are exactly alike. It applies to racial origins, local traditions and mores, structure and composition of the population, to both quantitative and qualitative phenomena. The earlier theories of community organization stated these two truths. Empirical research has verified them. Hence the sociologist can and does guide community organization successfully in situations as diverse as Gordon Brown's in Samoa, Alinsky with his People's Organizations in Chicago, or many a rural sociologist in rural America.

To shift slightly, out of Cooley's theory of primary groups, and Giddings' of consciousness of kind, the empirical research of Galpin and Warren Wilson began to delimit the rural community; and today rural sociologists can, for instance, tell within a small margin of error the needed population, the necessary economic base, and other factors requisite for a consolidated high school.

The rural sociologist also can document the concept that poor land

makes poor people; he can count the social costs of this combination and suggest possible policies for consideration, such as migration or aid to such localities by state or nation. Other illustrations could be drawn from the areas of public opinion or standards of living.

These are illustrations only, and too briefly stated to satisfy all scientific criteria. They can, nonetheless, be documented. They fortify my first suggestion and point to the second, namely, that the marriage of theoretical and empirical research is of the essence in the further progress of our discipline, our science. They are two sides of the same coin, each valueless without the other. Some of us are more skillful in engraving the design of one side, some excel on the other. Unless the two cooperate there can be no coin. This seems so self-evident as to raise questions as to why the point should be spelled out. I have done so because the theme was a recurring one in about fifty letters received by the Rural Sociological Society, fifteen to eighteen months ago, from doctoral candidates in its field then in the armed services. They, after all, were recent products of our own teaching in general and rural fields alike. Their confusion at this point is perhaps not unrelated to our too frequent failure to recognize that valid theory must either be based upon the results of creditable research or be testable by valid scientific methods.

My two immediate presidential predecessors have been concerned

with aspects of this problem. Nelson felt that already rural sociology had become too broad for one man to encompass. He called for two things —more intensive as against extensive research, and for the beginning of synthesis, the lack of which was inevitable for a time and is indeed manifested in each new discipline in its early history. Lively felt that even as an applied science, rural sociology was already spread too thin. He called for a "more limited operational definition" yet pointed out also neglected areas. With differences I suggest that perhaps these remarks could as well be applied to the whole area of sociology.

Certain it is that not everything that is social falls within the purview of sociology. We are concerned with the social *behavior* of men. The economist can study for us the economics of the AAA, but the operation of the township and county committees of the AAA as social groupings is our business. Part of the economic behavior of men *is* social behavior. When an economist points out that a group of foreign-born farmers in a given county does much better by itself than the native-born of native parents in the same county and on much the same soil, the explanation goes far beyond slight differences in technique. It concerns the whole cultural make-up of the two groups. The functioning of families as families and in their relation to the land is involved, and comparable matters, which is where sociology comes in, and with it my third point.

Now more than ever we must hasten the vaporization of the already crumbling walls separating the social sciences. Once down, the core of each discipline will stand revealed and there will be freedom to explore the no man's lands where the social sciences touch. It is more than likely that on these mutual frontiers will be made the new discoveries that will push back the boundaries of knowledge and also push mankind forward. The atom bomb was not the sole theoretical and practical discovery of a single group of narrow scientists.

Again, in our zest to advance knowledge, let us not forget the knowledge we have acquired, either in our teaching, where we must often remember it, or in application and in research. The demand, from the society it is our task to study, is for more applied sociology. Even the *New York Times* has recently called for "a new conception of rural sociology" and illustrated it in applied terms. Society is overtaking us. A community survey no longer qualifies for the Ph.D. degree. It is not a contribution to knowledge. It may be a very great contribution to the community concerned. And it is in communities, where most people live and have their being, where they experience the impact of world trends, where they adapt to them, if they do, where in its human and group aspects, social change becomes manifest. If any should be skeptical of such service research, I commend them to Myrdal's strong defense of it

in the methodological appendix of his *American Dilemma*.

Important as what I have said seems to me, in a sense it is but clearing away underbrush. For in the light of the opportunities that may—rather than must come—most of the projects in our annual census of research, indeed most of the research projects in our sister social sciences, look puny indeed. There is need to focus our research very definitely on the problems of major importance. Even in areas in which there is a fair amount of research, the operating people who seek to use the results find gaps they need to have filled. In rural sociology, as perhaps elsewhere, that means not only setting our sights higher, being more comprehensive in our approach, getting our problems out of the very tumult of life. It means also more effective integration of federal, regional, and state research. On some projects it means freedom for the states to pool their resources in areas of mutual concern. Not under the compulsion of war but under the greater compulsion of society's dire need, we need as effective cooperative research as was shown by the atom bomb scientists.

We need too ideas, important ones. We must be alert for them, ask questions about them, test them, find out what they mean operationally, be ready with the application, policy, or plan when the opportune moment comes, often suddenly, to place them at the service of society. For instance, we need to explore intensively, as MacIver suggested some years ago,

the sociology of cooperation itself, perhaps one of our most neglected fields.

Obviously such a statement indicates a concern with values. Rural sociology really began at that point, in the concern for the welfare of rural people. We should not need anthropologists to remind us that the bedrock strata of a culture, a society, are those values by which it governs itself. Our achievements in demography, in social organization or any of the other areas I noted earlier, should not blind us to the importance of this more difficult and now perhaps more essential task of understanding the values our society holds and interpreting them with as much objectivity as possible, in terms of public policy. Data is not lacking for such a task. We dare not, in a reaction against some excrescences of quantitative research, take refuge in mere theorizing unrelated to patiently acquired, assured knowledge. Who better than the students of society should be able to guide society?

May I give an illustration of this. Agricultural science is as far advanced as the average physical science. As in industry, those who practice it best, profit most. But there is probably a greater gap in such practice between the 10 per cent of farms that are most efficient and the 10 per cent that are least efficient, than between the top and bottom tenth of most industries. Agriculture, the oldest of industries and still in world terms the largest, still suffers from superstitions and folkways that

hamper its effort to answer the world's prayer for daily bread—never more fervently prayed than now. The spread of knowledge is a social process as well as an educational one. What are the social processes by which scientific knowledge and folk knowledge can be effectively blended? The same problem exists in health. The United States Navy administrative personnel on a hundred Pacific islands wants the answer. The problem is one for educational and rural sociologists and for the workers in communication. It involves the perennial problem of the Extension worker in whatever field, once phrased by Robinson as the humanizing of knowledge.

Time is passing. I have not mentioned our teaching function and cannot, save to say that we need to understand the implications of the fact that sociology is indispensable as a service subject to those heading for a larger number of callings. It must also train its own future practitioners. But it is the first group that is of special importance at the moment because of the need for understanding of society, and because making such a service contribution well will greatly enhance public understanding

of and appreciation for sociology. This being the case, in my judgment courses are dangerously inadequate at this time if so-called principles are expounded, unrelated to exposure to society itself and to the contribution of sociology to the welfare of that society.

Essentially our task is, first, to take what we know and offer it more boldly to society, phrased in terms of each culture's values; and second, with what resources we have in means and in ourselves, and what may come, to erect on the foundations already laid a sound and greater structure built of the bricks of empirical research and the mortar of sound theoretical thinking. But we have no time to debate what color we shall make the mortar so long as it is good mortar. There is too much need for the structure.

To paraphrase very slightly President Conant:

"One might question whether or not a person could think clearly about society or any of its institutions without having formulated a social philosophy, on the one hand, and probed into the realities of our social situation, on the other."

# Review of Current Research in Rural Sociology\*

By Robin M. Williams, Jr.†

## ABSTRACT

This report outlines 6 criteria for appraising rural sociological research: (1) methodology; (2) scientific importance; (3) social importance; (4) effectiveness of presentation; (5) economy of investigation; (6) adherence to the norms of "good scholarship." Discussion is limited to the first four criteria.

Current methodology can be improved through more adequate conceptualization of problems, use of experimental designs, and closer attention to interrelations of behavior within given social contexts. Relating practical studies more closely to systematic hypotheses and theory will increase scientific importance. Current research has high social importance; certain directions for further advances are suggested. Rural sociology is becoming more effective as a guide to action; additional effectiveness depends in part upon research interpretation to persons in key social positions and upon the participation of community representatives in the research program itself.

## RESUMEN

Este informe presenta seis criterios para juzgar las investigaciones sociológicas: (1) la metodología; (2) la importancia científica; (3) la importancia social; (4) la efectividad de la presentación; (5) la economía de investigación; (6) la adherencia a las normas de "la buena erudición." La discusión se limita a los cuatro primeros criterios.

La metodología actual puede ser mejorada por medio de una conceptualización más adecuada de los problemas, el empleo de planos experimentales y mayor atención a la interrelación de conductas dentro de situaciones sociales. Al relacionar más intimamente estudios de valor práctico con hipótesis y teorías sistemáticas obtenemos mayor importancia científica. Las investigaciones actuales tienen gran importancia social: se sugieren varias orientaciones para obtener aun más adelantos. La sociología rural se hace más efectiva como guía a la acción; más efectividad depende en parte de la interpretación de las investigaciones hechas para personas que ocupan puestos sociales de importancia y de la participación de representantes de la comunidad en dichos programas de investigación.

### 1. Introduction

As in the previous year,<sup>1</sup> the Research Committee has tried in 1945 to appraise ". . . critically and with candor the whole area of research in rural sociology."<sup>2</sup> Any review of the

status of research in a field so broad as an entire discipline runs the twin dangers of becoming ineffectual either by its involvement in the details of individual studies, or by stating its findings in such broad and abstract terms that pointed implications are not readily drawn. Because the main purpose of the Report is to stimulate basic discussion, it will touch upon a number of points about which differences of opinion exist. For these reasons, the Report will state its critical conclusions without specific reference to individual studies

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† Cornell University.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Mangus, "Problems and Plans in Rural Sociological Research," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, X (June, 1945), 188-191.

<sup>2</sup> "Report of the Committee on Post-War Recruitment and Training of the Rural Sociological Society," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, X (March, 1945), 84.

except for occasional illustrations. It is believed that this approach will not render the discussion any the less provocative.

This is a particularly appropriate time to attempt some rather fundamental stock-taking. The end of the war not only portends shifts in emphasis as to the content of studies, and raises new problems for research; it also means that students and professional workers whose energies have been absorbed by various kinds of war service will again be free to return to the field. Self-appraisal of our discipline at this time is also facilitated by more subtle factors of social experience. The events of the last few years have re-emphasized the decisive historical importance of social changes now in process, and have rendered particularly vivid the problem of the physical and social sciences in their relations to the social order.

With this by way of rationale, it was decided this year to forego any "census" of research. Most members of the Society are, in any case, reasonably well-informed as to what is being done. It has seemed more valuable to use this Report as a vehicle for a general appraisal, rather than inventory, of research in rural sociology.

Now, before an appraisal can be made it is necessary to have some standards of judgment, and it is well to make these explicit. Then, whether or not the conclusions are accepted, it is at least clear upon what premises they were based.

What are the criteria by which rural sociological research is judged? In actual practice we apply a number of standards, not by any means all "scientific," and we shift from one to another without always being explicit as to which is being applied at the moment. If we ask how research is appraised, rather than recommend how it *should* be judged, we can distinguish at least the following six criteria:

1. *Methodology*, in the sense of rigor of formal proof. How well, by the tests of empirical science, did the study prove what it set out to establish? Did it make assertions on a high or a low level of proof?
2. *Scientific importance*. What did the study contribute to extending the frontiers of investigation, i.e., did it bear upon a key point of systematic sociological theory? Did it formulate generalizations as to predictable regularities in social behavior? Did it stimulate new thinking, and suggest fruitful hypotheses?
3. *Social importance*, either long or short-range. Did the research concern itself with matters which are regarded as important by the society at large, or by important groups within it, or which are important in terms of what is validly known of society's needs in terms of given value-premises? We often praise or dismiss studies on this ground, relatively irrespective

of their methodological rigor or scientific importance.

4. *Effectiveness of presentation*, including both the choice of audience and the methods of presentation. When studies are criticized as "esoteric," it is often meant that the style, terminology, and medium of publication restricts understanding to a small audience and one perhaps not highly effective socially. This criterion is especially important for research bearing upon the policies and practices of action agencies and groups.
5. *Economy of investigation*. We all know of studies which have had a definite resemblance to the mountain which brought forth the mouse; this is occasionally a focus of criticism. Also, research may be wasteful because past work has not been studied and utilized prior to undertaking a study.
6. *Adherence to the norms of "good scholarship."* This implies among other things that the study is placed in context with previous thought and investigation on the matter. Footnotes can become merely a prestigious ritual, but the practice of systematic checking of earlier related work is still a mark of good research and a reminder of the cumulative nature of science.

There are other standards of appraisal which could be, and sometimes are, applied; these mentioned, how-

ever, seem to include the major tests in most common use.

Little will be said about the last two points listed, but the others call for consideration. Attention is now turned to the status of current research as judged by these criteria.

## 2. Current Methodology

This Report cannot attempt a detailed appraisal of research techniques in current use. It does, however, have an obligation at least to touch upon methodology in the broader sense. How is rural sociology trying to attack the problems it finds appropriate for study?

The answer is, in general, that it is handling them with a fairly limited set of the orthodox tools of sociology. More than in the general field, however, we lean to quantification. A disinterested observer might, in fact, think that we sometimes fail to take important factors into account simply because we have not yet learned to "measure" them, or because no handy census data exist. It is in the field of population, of course, that the largest bodies of statistics exist, and also the largest accumulation of precise statistical techniques and skills. Here we do quite well. When we come to deal, however, with other types of problems, we frequently do less well.

There are two main problems of method which stand out in current work (and, perhaps even more, in past investigations) as especially in need of attention. The first is the problem of incomplete and unsystematic conceptualization. This is the

one criticism we most often hear from colleagues in allied disciplines, and it will be dealt with in a moment. The second is the question of rigor in proof. In the nature of the subject matter, social scientists often have to accept for consideration generalizations founded on a low level of proof. It is an instructive exercise to go through recent bulletins and journal articles, and underline the assertions for which little definite proof has been offered. There are many such. Some are value-judgments, pure and simple, although not often so labelled. Many of the assertions lacking proof are "probably true;" many of the doubtful cases are stimulating. It can be argued also that, where little is scientifically known, it is desirable to record our best guesses and hunches. Even admitting that, most of us would probably agree that current studies need to raise the standards of proof employed.

On this point, one definite avenue of improvement deserves fresh attention. Sociology in general—and rural sociology shares this characteristic—has failed to make adequate use of "experimental" methods. The tendency has been to assume that because *laboratory* experiments in this field are almost never possible, and not very important even when possible, that *experiment as a method* can be ignored. There is need to re-examine this assumption. An experiment is a precise form of *controlled comparison*. Is it really so impractical to find opportunities for examining,

under controlled conditions, the social "experiments" which are going on around us all the time? History makes our experiments, but history can sometimes be controlled in specific situations. Suppose a rural sociologist knows that a public welfare organization in his state is about to launch a new system of organized social work in rural areas. A little persuasion might lead to the testing of a pilot program, with results of scientific importance and immediate value for action. Failing that, carefully done before-and-after observation and measurement can still be of enormous usefulness. When we thus study dynamic situations with *dynamic* rather than *static* techniques, there is at least a real possibility of speaking of "effects" rather than "correlations."<sup>3</sup> Trite as it may be to say it, it is still valuable to emphasize that adequate proof of scientific generalizations, usually depends upon finding the situation of the crucial difference.

Methodology can also be strengthened by taking a cue from the functional anthropologists. The distinctive feature of their approach is to examine the *interrelationships of behavior within a total community or social system* in terms of the question: What does each practice or belief contribute to the functioning of the society, or group, or individual personality? The logic is the same as that

<sup>3</sup> We often imply effects by saying that X occurred and that Y followed. But it is necessary to have more than an endless circle of correlations to reach the level of rational certainty we have a right to expect of a science.

of the physiologist who asks what conditions are necessary for a given state of bodily functioning. Community studies along these lines will give body and precision to our general assertions about the "interrelatedness" of rural sociology. The community study monographs of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare constitute a promising move in this direction. When we can visualize in a particular area how the Holy Roller church is related to tenancy and cotton prices, and how the local family system affects politics, and how beliefs about race relations tie in with the problem of soil erosion—when we can analyze such specific connections, we will have the analytical basis for much sounder public policies and local social action.

These are two *general* questions of method. So far as *specific* problems are concerned, two illustrations will likewise have to suffice. One is the problem of reliability of basic data. Here it is perhaps enough to point to Whitney's article on population of rural centers as an example of the kind of continuous checking which is essential.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, the whole field of rural attitude studies has long lacked techniques which recent developments now make available. On the one hand there are such advances in the technique of measurement as the type of opinion scales developed by Guttman. The basic technique for deriving a

multivariate scale, expressable as a single variable by means of simple scores, has potentially a much wider application than merely to paper-and-pencil responses.<sup>5</sup> It already renders obsolete many of the customary techniques of measuring opinions. On the other hand, studies of rural attitudes in the past have not always made adequate use of the opportunity to observe opinions *in context*. Careful recording of relatively "unguided" interviews for example, supplies a type of attitude data in objective form which is almost indispensable for maximum fruitfulness of research. In this field, finally, it is crucial that future work go beyond the measurement of "attitudes" alone; it should in every possible case relate "what-people-say" to their other behaviors in relevant situations. This is a most promising approach for deepening our understanding.

### 3. Scientific Importance

It may be too early to form a fair estimate of the scientific contribution of studies recently completed and under way. Nevertheless, something may be learned by examining the generalizations which have been advanced. The official journal should furnish a fair source for sampling contemporary work. In the journal RURAL SOCIOLOGY during 1945 there appeared 23 articles and 11 notes. Of these, 2 articles and 5 notes dealt with

<sup>4</sup> V. H. Whitney, "Notes on the Reliability of Atlases for Estimating the Populations of Unincorporated Places," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, X (December, 1945).

<sup>5</sup> Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," American Sociological Review, IX (1944), 139-150; and Ward H. Goodenough, "A Technique for Scale Analysis," Educational and Psychological Measurement, IV (1944), 179-190.

appraisals of research, teaching, extension, and personnel in the field. Six items dealt with population; 1 with community organization; 2 each with the family, farm housing, foreign extension work and agricultural planning, rural-urban economic differentials; and 3 with personality study. The remaining items scattered over a variety of topics.

The variety of concrete problems studied is no cause for dismay—most of the topics are worthy of social attention. What is somewhat more disturbing, viewed against the criterion of scientific contribution, is that few of the articles attempt to set up clear generalizations or hypotheses which look toward further testing and toward building a systematic body of verified theory. There are notable exceptions, e.g., the articles by Locke<sup>6</sup> and Senter.<sup>7</sup> Whether finally verified or not, there is at least a clear formulation of a basic hypothesis when an article states: "Isolation from deviant patterns of behavior is a factor making for family unity." (Locke, p. 145) Furthermore, this is a statement of regularity in human behavior which readily finds a place in a larger body of theory having to do with the conditions conducive to traditionalism, primacy of *Gemeinschaft*-values, and a certain type of social stability.

The central point at issue is the

contention that the scientific importance of research depends upon its relevance to *some* theory. It is literally impossible to study anything without having a conceptual scheme, explicit or implicit. This being true, best results are to be expected when (a) the scheme is clearly formulated, and (b) the theoretical framework is one which already contains concepts proven useful in practice, and from which the widest possible scientific implications can be drawn.

Those of our number who have written textbooks, or attempted other integrations of rural sociological knowledge, must have found that one of their greatest handicaps was the difficulty of fitting the results of individual studies into any kind of systematic sociological framework. It would be surprising if they did not have this difficulty. For the available studies resemble the parts of a jigsaw puzzle for which a dominant design seems not to have existed. Whether or not this is regarded as inevitable historically, and whether or not it is thought to be deplorable or commendable, it does seem true that research in rural sociology is especially fragmentary and recalcitrant to systematization.

By the standards of older sciences, it must be admitted that there is room for improvement in this situation. The situation itself has arisen as a result of at least these factors: (1) the pressures upon rural sociologists to work upon a variety of immediate, local problems and to produce quick, "practical" results; (2) the reaction

<sup>6</sup> Harvey J. Locke, "Contemporary American Farm Families," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, X (June, 1945).

<sup>7</sup> Donovan Senter, "Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-Speaking Americans," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, X (March, 1945).

against "arm-chair theorizing" which has led not only to great preoccupation with quantitative data but also to an emphasis on empiricism so great as to amount to a phobia against anything called "theory;" (3) the lack of general agreement upon an adequate body of systematic theory. Much of the difficulty unquestionably can be traced to sincere efforts to meet the demands made upon the worker in an agricultural experiment station—demands which often force concentration upon problems and approaches too narrowly modeled upon the examples of "technical" agricultural studies. To what extent this will remain true can only be guessed.

The point of view presented here is that a main road to added scientific stature for rural sociology is that of sharper and more systematic theory. A respectable body of such theory—an ordered accumulation of tested hypotheses, to use a phrase suggested by T. Lynn Smith—is already in being. It is further maintained that this is not necessarily in conflict with the need for practical results—that is, for a *raison d'être* in the eyes of the society which supports the research. Has not the field reached a point at which the false opposition of "theoretical" and "practical" can be buried once and for all? If a theory is good, scientifically speaking, it will have sound practical implications. If a study is good, practically speaking, it should be so designed to produce generalizable facts for theory. "Facts" never "speak for themselves."

There are practical ways of doing scientifically important research on practical problems. There is no valid reason why studies bearing on action-problems cannot include items of theoretical significance. Suppose a State Director of Extension wants to know: (a) why Extension is not reaching more people; (b) what effects it is having upon people who are reached only indirectly. We already know that the audience for agricultural extension is affected by a distance factor, a social class factor, and a type-of-farming factor. In answering the Director's questions, we not only can, but should, learn fundamental things about rural class structure, the nature of communicative processes, and other problems of similar scope.

Furthermore, we can work more closely than in the past with people outside the rural field who are competent and interested in problems of method and theory. For those students who are to become research sociologists (*not necessarily* for other students), we can emphasize a more intensive and fundamental training.

If science is the process by which apparent complexities are resolved into recurrent and hence predictable simplicities, then science must proceed by abstraction. But most of the things which seem "simple" or "self-evident" to commonsense are congeries of implicit abstractions, which must be disentangled before a semblance of science appears. And this means asking clear questions, and the clearest questions are those

guided by the distilled simplicities which constitute theory properly understood.

From these assumptions and suggestions, two summary propositions may be submitted. One, that we have leaned over backward in avoiding adequate *explicit* conceptualizations of our field. Second, that in studies which have an adequate theoretical framework we should not hesitate to investigate the seemingly obvious. *Few things are more necessary in sociology than a thorough-going effort to see the significance of the obvious.* It can be taken as a maxim that the commonplaces of social life are never simple or non-problematical for science, and that the things which are most completely taken-for-granted in a society constitute the most fundamental sociological facts. Let us not be intimidated by the words "trite," "self-evident," "obvious," and the like. Any valid scientific proposition is "self-evident," within a given frame of reference, once it has been formulated on the basis of observation. It is by no means obvious *before* it is so formulated.

Many of the studies in rural sociology give outside scientific observers the impression of being formalistic manipulations of data which furnish little insight into the social structures and processes which, from other evidences, are known to exist. One reason, among others, which helps explain why this impression is created is the tremendous gap occasioned by the lack of what is sometimes called "psychological" data or analysis in

the field. This is a gap which is shown up in sharp relief by the very considerable recent progress in social psychology, psychiatry, and in studies of the social structuring of emotion. Our studies tend to lack "depth," insomuch as we have not come to grips with the hard facts and difficult problems suggested by such phrases as "the relation of individuals to their institutions," "personality *and* culture," or "the meaning of social acts." There is a quite understandable reluctance on the part of many investigators to enter upon an aspect of study which is full of pitfalls, beset with speculative systems, and not yet fully "respectable" among stereotype-minded administrators. But there is no blinking the importance of these problems, and much very solid work has already been done. Sooner or later, any vital social science will have to make use of the concepts and methods which in the hands of good clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists already are producing significant results.

#### 4. Social Importance

Next, let us take up the matter of the social importance of the topics studied. This can best be seen against the background of what has been done in past years. The war has brought an increased emphasis upon studies of rural health, community organization, Latin-American cultures (including those of minorities within the United States). As noted last year, population studies have continued to hold a predominant position. At the same time, we have been get-

ting a few studies which deal with acculturation, and some which focus upon "personality" in the rural setting. It seems fair to say that the work has become more "sociological," and we have correspondingly placed less emphasis upon problems which verge upon the field of agricultural economics. There are also signs that the criticism of "provincialism" which has long been leveled at American rural sociology is losing some of its validity. Insofar as this is happening, it certainly rates a plus sign on the scoreboard of social importance; if there ever was a time when we could afford to think of American rural society in isolation from the remainder of the world, that time is definitely past.<sup>8</sup>

Now, there probably never has been a study for which an ingenious mind could not find a plausible rationale in terms of social importance. It may even be argued that anything whatsoever learned about human society is, in some sense, "worth learning." This may be true, but it is also axiomatic that some studies are more important than others which were, or could have been made. We do not have sufficient funds or trained personnel to afford the luxury of diffusing them into every manner of "interesting" but relatively minor research problem.

In many instances we are not—to the degree possible and practicable—telling the people who need to know it, the most relevant facts and prin-

ciples about the most crucial rural problems. Take the problems of formal organization in rural life. It is well to "measure" participation, and to inform responsible officials about the groups being reached or passed over by given programs. Valuable work along these lines will, and should, continue in the future. But it is not enough. We have just begun to explore the real structure of rural social organization, and the factors in its dynamics. Let us say that I am an administrator. I want you to tell me "why" a group health plan, a cooperative, a government land-use program is "working" or not. I, being also an exceptionally conscientious administrator, want to know what effects, possibly unintended effects, the program is having upon the total structure of the society. Now we can give some answers; but there is doubt as to whether they are as good or complete as they would be were we consistently and rigorously asking ourselves of every study: How important is this for the society? Who is interested, or can be brought to interest in it? What can be done about it, now or later?

Take another problem of great social significance: the nature of group conflicts in rural society, and the methods by which they are resolved, if they are. As this country becomes urbanized and as the social system begins to solidify, we need a great deal more basic sociological knowledge than we now have on this matter. Examples could be multiplied. What are the effects of outside agen-

<sup>8</sup> Lowry Nelson, "Rural Sociology—Dimensions and Horizons," *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, X (June, 1945).

cies taking over functions formerly resident in local groups? What are the factors in the developing demographic trends and what are their implications for social change? What is happening to rural systems of values and why and with what consequences? What are the concomitants of highly commercialized agriculture with reference both to standards of living and to social stability? What are the meaningful or emotional aspects of the massive shifts in social structure which are now occurring? How do systems of power and social influence actually operate in various types of rural areas?

At the risk of seeming pontifical, the gist of this discussion can be put in this fashion: It is time that rural sociology completed the task, already nearly completed, of emancipating itself from the role of a catch-all for problems which agricultural economics does not want, and which are at best marginal to the social relationships and issues which really matter to rural people and to the nation. Similarly, it is necessary and valuable to study various types of palliative, recreational, and "diversionary" activities carried out by or for rural communities. While rural sociology may continue to study such things when appropriate, it has other cogent messages to give, and as a matter of emphasis it needs to focus on the things of greatest importance to rural statesmanship.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In the 1945 volume of RURAL SOCIOLOGY, we have two articles by T. Lynn Smith which suggested the contribution to statesmanship which more intensive comparative studies of present rural cultures can make. (See Nos. 2 and 4 of volume X.)

### 5. Relation of Study to Action

Finally, how effective are our studies in influencing social action? How can effectiveness be increased?

There can be little question that in the course of the years the results of studies in rural sociology have grown in potential usefulness to action groups, and that the findings have in fact had increasing effects upon practical social action. On the other hand, it is doubtful if a single member of the Society is satisfied with the results so far achieved, and this of course is as it should be.

As the body of *useful* knowledge in the field accumulates, a large part of it will be put to use more-or-less automatically through the established channels of governmental agencies, extension services, and the normal teaching and publication outlets. Worthy of special mention is the need for closer and more effective working relationships between the extension service and the experimental station in land grant institutions. Also, impartial inquiries may be undertaken by independent researchers for the purpose of evaluating a particular action program.<sup>10</sup>

To be *most* effective, however, additional purposive effort on the part of the rural sociologist is necessary. The very job of making research effective in social action may

<sup>10</sup> For example, see the two rural studies completed during the year for the Federal Public Housing Authority: Paul W. Wager, *One Foot on the Soil*, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1944; Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell, *New Farm Homes for Old*, University of Alabama Press, in press.

be viewed as an area demanding further social science research. This problem has recently been fruitfully explored on a regional basis by the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.<sup>11</sup>

One of the first steps—and one which many of our number have already taken with considerable success—is to make a systematic reconnaissance of the individuals and groups within one's own local and state area who are potential "customers." The next step is to bring the possibilities to their attention, and this at the planning stage of the research when possible. It is safe to say that our findings never are utilized to the extent they warrant if we rely solely upon the techniques of broadcast dissemination through the printed page.<sup>12</sup> Science as a guide to action is of maximum usefulness when it reaches the key people whose decisions have the widest social consequences. We must, therefore, reach the leaders. And we must show them that we have the down-to-earth realism which effective social action requires. This is a "selling" job, and it is a job that has to be done. Scientists are traditionally reluctant to do

it, but we all know that our roles as scientists, pure and undefiled, constitute only a part of our total activities as rural sociologists. This is necessarily so, because society wants us to be more than scientists. The problem is not whether to "promote" and "interpret" but how to do it.

On this point, the experience of the war years seems to have reaffirmed this principle: *Best results come from repeated personal contacts with persons in positions of influence and authority.*<sup>13</sup> Speaking generally, leaders and administrators simply will not take the time to digest and apply our studies to their problems unless we help them do it. "Research translation" and "research interpretation" is necessary. In every state we should work toward a situation in which there is at least one rural sociologist who is personally acquainted with the key people in rural life in his state. He should be in a position to sit down with them and go over their problems in friendly counsel, in the light of what rural sociology has to contribute. When this is the normal state of affairs all over the country, we can say that rural sociology has really "arrived" as a guide to action.

<sup>11</sup> See John E. Ivey, Jr., *Channelling Research into Education*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1944.

<sup>12</sup> It is admittedly true that publications can be made *more* effective than they are now. Bulletin readability is notoriously low, as the inquiries of Gladys Gallup, Edgar Dale and others have demonstrated. If bulletins are to go to the non-specialist public, they should be designed for this purpose. By effective summaries, attention-catching text with charts and pictures, and by the relegation of technical detail to appendix or to technical bulletin, much improvement is possible.

<sup>13</sup> The device of advisory research committees, suggested by Mangus last year, is another approach to the same end. In nearly every state having work in our field, there is one rural sociologist who is, or should be, in a position to deal directly with the leaders. For workers having fewer opportunities for such contacts, there is much to be said for a continuing research advisory committee which can serve to keep the research worker in touch with the needs and directions of thinking of those who can use his findings. The technique of such an advisory committee for individual projects should also be further utilized.

In addition to reaching key leaders with the results of research, it is of considerable long-range importance in a democracy to "channel" our research into education. Much rural sociological research could be of assistance to rural school teachers but not in the form in which we usually present it. Such materials embodying pertinent research findings are needed by teacher-training institutions. Furthermore, effective educational materials based upon sound social science research, including rural sociology, are desperately needed at all grade levels of our schools. The preparation of these materials should not be the responsibility of the researcher alone, but can best be accomplished by joint effort of rural sociologists and educators, as the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has shown.

In the final application of research to action, the rural sociologist has to draw upon what we may call his "social wisdom" as well as upon the established principles of his science. Scientific generalizations are necessarily abstract, and thus can rarely be expected to fit exactly the blurred and changing realities to which action must conform. They are economical when applied with insight; potentially misleading when applied uncritically or dogmatically. This is the basic reason why the men who are trained and set to work in rural sociology

need the widest possible acquaintance with the concrete details of rural life. We all "know," in the sense of having a basis for action, a great deal more about society than we can rigorously prove in a scientific sense. The knowledge of personal experience is not always trustworthy, but it is the basis of many important social decisions and there is no reason why the rural sociologist *in his practical roles* should have less of it than other people, or be any more reluctant to use it under reasonable limitations of caution.

#### 6. Conclusion

On the profile of criteria which we have been considering, there is evidence of grave faults but also evidence of substantial progress. So far as concerns the social importance of the studies and their relation to action the picture is spotty but relatively encouraging. There is less room for congratulations as to methodology and systematic scientific contribution. But the needs are becoming clearer and the problems more sharply posed. There are many signs that, considered as a whole, the field is coming of age. Only by continuous and thoughtful self-appraisal and criticism can we insure its position as a mature and respected member of the community of sciences. Such discussions as we are having at this time find their justification only insofar as they move us toward that end.

# An Iowa Locality: 1918-1946

*By Bruce L. Melvin†*

## ABSTRACT

In 1918 Savannah, a small hamlet in Southeast Iowa was the partial service-center of a locality consisting of two county school districts. The community activities gravitated around the store, the church, the community house and two rural schools. In mechanization the automobile was displacing the horse and buggy, but now farming is done with tractors, two and three bottom plows, combines, corn huskers, etc.

Activities have shifted to the county seat which is connected with Savannah by a gravel road, and an electric line. The county agricultural agent, home demonstration agent, director of rural electrification, the representative of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and a soil technologist serve agriculture from the county seat. The trained veterinary looks after the hogs, sheep and cattle from the same center.

But the people are not served in the fields of education, health nor religion from the county seat. The State College and the Federal Government are doing an excellent job of caring for agriculture but not for the farmer and his family.

## RESUMEN

En 1918, Savannah, pequeña aldea en el sudeste de Iowa, fué el centro parcial de servicios de una localidad que consistía de dos distritos escolares. Las actividades de la comunidad gravitaban alrededor de la tienda, la iglesia, el edificio comunal y dos escuelas rurales. En la mecanización el automóvil suplantaba el caballo y la tartana pero ahora se labran las tierras con tractores, dos o tres arados, segadoras, desgranadores mecánicos, etc.

Las actividades se han mudado al centro del distrito que está unido a Savannah por medio de un camino enarenado y por una línea eléctrica. El agente agrícola del distrito, la agente demostradora del hogar, el director de la electrificación rural, el representante de la Administración de Ajustes Agrícolas y un agrónomo prestan sus servicios al agricultor desde el centro del distrito. El veterinario bien preparado cuida de los cerdos, las ovejas y el ganado desde el mismo centro.

Pero los servicios de educación, sanidad y religión no provienen del mismo centro. El colegio estatal y el gobierno federal ayudan en sumo grado la industria de la agricultura, pero no se encargan del agricultor y su familia.

Savannah is an unincorporated village in the blue grass section of Southeast Iowa; it has one store, one combination garage and general repair shop, one church, and fifteen inhabited houses. A gravel road from the county seat, Bloomfield, ten miles away, and an electric line pass through this center and to the southwest a quarter to a half mile. Both have been built within the last ten years.

At the close of World War I Savannah was the center of a partial-service rural community. Though there was only one store that afforded limited economic services, the then recently built community house provided a place in which regular community programs were provided; an orchestra composed of young and old, played for community activities and church affairs. Religious services (preaching) were held once or twice a month on Sundays. By that time the automobiles were displacing the

† ESS-GHQ-SCAP.

horses and buggies about the church, community house and the store though the mechanization of agriculture had hardly begun. The men and women and boys and girls of two school districts looked to this little village as the center for their social and recreational activities. Loyalties were felt among the friends who assembled at the store, the church, the community house and other places where the people gathered. The families of two school districts largely "belonged" to Savannah.

The technological aspects of farming were then scarcely recognized. The rain gullied the hillsides; but little was thought about it and less done. The quality of stock was in process of improvement by the use of pure bred sires, but a real high quality herd of cattle or flock of sheep was seldom seen. There were many horses—work and saddle—but the quality was far from uniform. The empty houses in the two districts were very few—probably not over four or five.

### Some Contrasts

The contrasts in this locality between 1918 and 1946 are striking. In 1918 a farmer handling 300 acres of land had a dozen to twenty horses, a farmer today running six to eight hundred acres has three horses which he sometimes uses. But in his lots are a large and small tractor. The small tractor pulls the wagon, the corn picker, runs the hay bailer, draws and runs the threshing machine. The small tractor pulls only a two bottom plow while the large tractor pulls a

plow of three bottoms. The boy who was ten years of age in 1918, then learning to handle horses, today can plow seventeen acres of land in one day and go to the movies in the county seat at night. Though he could not make a full hand in the field with horses at that time his ten year old son can do so by running the small tractor. It no longer requires a half day to husk a load of corn; with the tractor and corn picker twenty-five bushels can be husked in twenty or thirty minutes. In the homes which the electric line has reached electricity affords the lights, power for the radios, runs the vacuum sweepers, washing machine, and is used for cooking and at the barn it has eliminated the lantern, pumps the water, shells the corn, and is at hand for numerous chores. Labor has been reduced on the farm; farming is now a skilled occupation.

Technology and science dominate farming in other ways. In feeding hogs dependence is no longer put only on the feed raised on the land. Supplemental feeds with nutritional elements the home grown feeds lack must be purchased. Deficiencies in nutritional elements make more blatant the crying need to conserve the soil from erosion. The country now has three soil commissioners and a soil technologist. This is a new venture. The veterinary—a college trained man—living at the county seat vaccinates the hogs, cattle and sheep and prescribes preventive medicines for all the stock. In fact he cares for the livestock of the

county. In 1918 a veterinary was called when a horse or cow was sick not otherwise. Instead of being a trained scientist he was usually a farmer who read widely or had gone to some hurry-up school or had graduated from a correspondence school.

The United States Government and the State College of Agriculture are well represented in the county. The Home Demonstration agent gives advice to the farm women, the County Agricultural Agent serves the farmers in well established ways. These have some since 1920. There are also the Director of the Rural Electrification and the Representative of Agricultural Adjustment Administration both of whom, as we all know, have gone there since 1933. In addition there is the locker for freezing foods and the office of the Federal Farm Loan Bank, both located in the county-seat. Agriculture is being served; with the introduction of hybrid corn during the thirties, corn production per acre increased from thirty or forty bushels to seventy to ninety. To have pure-bred livestock is the standard of many farms. During the twenty-seven years since 1918 the findings of science and its technical application have been taken to the farm families and the farms.

#### The Human Situation

The problems of hog raising are being solved, but not those of the boys and girls. The skilled veterinary, young and vigorous will vaccinate the sheep at any time. The best knowledge that science has gained can now be utilized for conserving the

soil. Today the provisions for education, health care and the religious instruction are what they were in 1918. However there are differences in the number they serve and extent of their services. One reason for this is the shift of population as is well shown by the low school attendance and empty farm houses.

Whereas one of the school districts in the Savannah locality had thirty-five pupils in 1918, it now has seven. The other district at the close of the last war had a two-room school with a total of sixty-five pupils; it now has one room with twenty-eight pupils. In the district with the seven pupils (three are moving out shortly) there are thirteen empty houses, all in good repair taking 1918 standards but none on the gravel road or the electric line.

Savannah can no longer be called a partial community service center. The store still operates quite successfully but probably more by reason of the truck that hauls everything for the farmers than by its sales. The community hall stands unused; part of its windows are knocked out and the door swings to the wind. Sunday school is still held in the one church. Then off some two miles from the center a holy-roller type of religious organization has arisen. The men who were strong supporters of the church in 1918, stimulated by the belief in the virgin birth and eternal life, yet hold to the church but cannot understand why the younger people are not more active in religious affairs.

One reason, which few realize, is

that during the last twenty-five years many of the farm boys and girls have gone to the county seat high school. While there they studied science and unknown to themselves, have acquired an emotional set that the "Old Gospel" no longer arouses. Also, they have recentered the center of their community life, but in a limited manner. Of these high school graduates—many of them are approaching middle age. However, when these graduates have left the county seat high school, the county seat had little to offer educationally and recreationally except as provided by the specialists and the movies. There is no library for the county; the county paper is little more educationally than it was twenty-eight years ago. The county has no hospital and until a physician recently returned from the Army the health of the county depended on an eighty-five year old doctor and the medical services that could be secured from other counties. Nobody from the little locality goes to the churches in the county seat on Sundays.

#### Some Grass-Root Opportunities

Any student of modern society will, I believe, agree that the greatest problem involving human needs and relations are in the realms of mental and physical health, education and religion. Since the aid for farming comes from the county seat, which in turn is connected with the State College and with the Federal Government, it is from the county seat that better health, general educational and religious activities should and could emanate. If the situation of this lo-

cality and the county are typical of the agricultural middle west then it is in these realms that the State Agricultural Colleges, Universities and the over-head religious agencies of the States can lead. Moreover in these three realms rest the values of life that help to conserve our family life, the end toward which the science of the State Colleges is theoretically directed.

Let's look first at education. Education in America is professedly to help people make a living and to live fully. It is toward the first that the technology already discussed has been directed. It is the second that is neglected in Southeast Iowa. Neither do the schools nor the farm organizations bring to these farmers any consideration of the place the farmers occupy in feeding the world, about their responsibilities for the cities to which they have sent their sons and daughters and the neighbors who once lived in the now empty houses. Here is a great opportunity for the State Colleges to make some studies of the educational system and adult educational opportunities and sit down with leaders from the farms and the county seat to devise programs the better to educate themselves on something other than farm production and marketing and to educate their children in values instead of merely on facts of life handed to them somewhat like an old bird feeds her young. As part of living, the farmers, the farm women, the farmers' sons and daughters should have a chance to acquire the

values that belong to the emotions and are acquired from good music, literature and drama. Of course much music comes with cigarette advertising and soap-opera over the radio. But is that enough? Moreover, the responsibility of the farmer for world affairs is acquired from radio commentators.

What about health? This seems such a common sense need, but yet so inadequately met. Again, here is place for studies that some colleges are furthering to show what the real situation is and the extent of need. It may be true that the disappearance of nutritious elements from the soil is bad only for the hogs; the sweet corn produced for the table may have all the elements required for the ten year old boy who drives the tractor. It is true that the farmers turn their pure bred cows out in the pasture to have their calves with little attention being paid to them. Perhaps the women can have babies with as little prenatal care. The first cost of another wife is not as great as another cow.

As to religion, let's face the facts. The old dynamics that caused men to judge their own actions by religious standards are no longer active. The man of sixty resents any implication that his old beliefs are dead, that

they are restrictive rather than life giving. So he is willing to go on giving a few dollars to send evangelists to countries that were close to the all present God when his Saxon ancestors were worshipping Thor. The great quest in religion today is for that force that created the religions of India, that gave to China a philosophy of living that has been a factor in her five thousand years of existence, and that was the dynamics of our own democratic theory of freedom of expression, of thought, and of religion. It must be a religion that goes back of the legalism that the lawyers among the Jews and Romans fastened on the teachings of the Prophet of Israel. In this respect the county-seat-churches could organize the county for religious education. Of course some of the preachers might preach less but they could educate more. Men must learn again that real religion is eternally new, it is the great reality, and when men feel the sense of the sublime they have acquired a religion capable of calling them to a new dedication and revealing to them the world of inward strength.

This last is a plea for a leadership for farm life in order that farmers may take their places more adequately in the coming age of atomic energy.

# The Challenge of Tomorrow's Rural Life

By W. A. Anderson†

## ABSTRACT

Extraordinary population changes presage the urbanization of rural areas, the elimination of most distinctions between urban and rural, and the building of the mechanized rural community. This has come about as a result of the revolution in transportation, especially the automobile and paved road; the changes in communication; the commercialization and mechanization of farming; the mechanization of the rural home; changes in rural social institutions, especially in the school and in government.

Will these changes usher into the rural America of Tomorrow the attractive living possibilities that are there? Problems that demand attention, if such is to be, have to do with rural community organization; the preservation of the family-sized farm; attention to small farmers and farm laborers; the psychological effect of urbanization on rural institutions; rural avocational interests; and the rural population trends.

## RESUMEN

Cambios de población extraordinarios presagian la urbanización de lugares rurales, la eliminación de la mayor parte de las distinciones entre lo urbano y lo rural, y la fabricación de la comunidad rural mecanizada. Esto ha sucedido como resultado de la revolución en el transporte, especialmente el automóvil y el camino petrolizado; los cambios de comunicación; la comercialización y la mecanización de la agricultura; la mecanización del hogar rural; cambios en instituciones sociales rurales, especialmente en la escuela y en el gobierno.

¿Traerán estos cambios a la América rural del mañana las atractivas posibilidades de vida que existen? Algunos problemas que piden atención, si tales cosas se han de obtener, tienen que ver con la organización de la comunidad rural; la preservación de las pequeñas granjas de familia; atención a los agricultores pequeños y los labradores; el efecto psicológico de la urbanización sobre las instituciones rurales; los intereses rurales avocacionales; y las tendencias de la población rural.

During the last quarter century, quiet yet dramatic changes have been going on in rural America to such an extent that tomorrow's rural life will be radically different from today's. These changes will probably make our rural areas, indeed our whole pattern of living, as different in the next decades as did the Industrial Revolution of the past two centuries. These changes began no longer than three decades ago but have been accumulating with every passing year. Just

now they are temporarily diverted by the war and post-war adjustments. This means, however, only the building of a head of steam that will give them a tremendous surge in this post-war period.

The unmistakable evidence of these changes is shown by two shifts in our population. Between 1920 and 1940, the farms of the nation lost over one million residents. The number of farms decreased by 350,000. The number of acres in farms nevertheless increased by 100 million and

† Cornell University.

farm production increased about 20 per cent. On the other hand, the rural nonfarm population increased by nearly seven million so that the total rural population gained five and one-half million persons in twenty years.

These two extraordinary population shifts presage the urbanization of rural areas, the elimination of most distinctions between urban and rural, and the building of the mechanized rural community. Already every rural district includes city families who have just located on farms or in open country nonfarm territory, while virtually every farm family has one or more of its members who live in a city.

What has brought about this amazing movement into rural territory of nonfarming people and the consequent urbanization of our rural life? First of all is the revolution in transportation. The automobile and the hard surfaced road are the needle and thread sewing rural and urban together. In 1910 almost no rural residents had a "horseless carriage." In 1940, six out of every ten farmers operated one or more automobiles. There are more than two automobiles for every ten persons in the nation now.

In 1904, only one out of each 14,000 miles of road in the country was paved. In 1940, one in every 24 miles, or 125,000 miles in all, were hard surfaced and thousands of miles more are to be added during this post-war period.

When automobiles and paved roads were first coming to pass, most pre-

dictions were that farm and village people would move into the larger towns and cities. What was overlooked was that roads and autos run to the open country as well as away from it and that they would carry the advantages of urban aggregation out and add them to the advantages of rural separation.

In reality the automobile and hard surfaced road have brought the urban centers themselves into the associative life of practically all rural areas. No longer does the farmer who takes his sheep to the county seat say to his wife after returning from a few miles travel that previously took several days, "Mary, if the world is as big toward the east as it is to the west, it's an awfully big world." Today he travels in his automobile or truck in an hour farther than he did in 1900 in a whole day. Few rural people in the United States now live more than an hour's automobile travel distance from a city of 10,000 or more population. City residents, many of whom came from the rural areas and are anxious to get back, live no more than an hour's automobile travel distance from distinctly rural territory. These rural-urban contacts are, therefore, revolutionizing the whole situation. There is now no such thing as the isolation of rural people from city influences or city people from rural influences. In fact the terms rural and urban hardly apply anymore.

And if one looks just a little farther ahead into what may happen in the very near future, when the small family aeroplane and the helicopter come

into use, he can foresee the rural area as the residential region for many more urban professional and business workers. Then there will be, as is already true in many places, homes clustered in and around rural villages and along the paved highways, making of these highways extended streets across the open country.

The second factor is the change in communication. The rural free delivery, established in 1896, began this alteration. Only fifty years ago most rural families were isolated as far as rapid communication was concerned. Today practically all families in the open country have daily mail delivery and every village family can get the mail at least once a day at the local post-office. Then came the telephone and today 1,500,000 farm and several million village families are within almost immediate speaking distance of the over 20 million telephone subscribers in the nation. But the addition of the radio is the most astounding of all. In 1925 only one in each 25 farm families had a radio. Today ten times that many families have one or more sets.

If to these facilities are added the city daily newspaper, often delivered to the open country family before it reaches the city subscriber, together with magazines and journals, it is readily seen that the rural resident has all the array of local, national and international news at hand.

As a consequence, families may now reside almost any place in the open country and be almost instant-

taneously in touch with the outside world. Likewise, they can just as effectively shut it out, and often this is an important value in rural living.

The third force making for change is the commercialization and mechanization of farming. The Industrial Revolution ushered in a machine-marketing economy. Factories produce goods for the market and returns are used for production and consumption items or put into savings. The complete industrialization of society has eventually carried agriculture into commercialization. Farmers sell practically all they produce on the market and buy the bulk of their consumption goods from the market. Self-sufficiency in farming is past, undoubtedly too far past.

Commercialization has increased competition and competition has stimulated the mechanization of the farm. The extent and rapidity of the changes in this regard are almost beyond comprehension. It is in considerable part the consequence of the development of the all-purpose tractor. There were fewer than a quarter million tractors on farms in 1920. In 20 years, there were over six times that many in farm operations. With them have been developed more efficient plows, harrows, combines and other tools. Combined with technological advances in farm chemistry and animal and plant breeding, this use of machinery has increased the output per farm worker 35 to 40 per cent in two decades. Two workers produced more in 1940 than did three workers in 1920. Consequently there

resulted the large decrease in farm population during these years but there also resulted the creation of the scientific farmer comparable in business acumen to any other class of professional workers.

The mechanization of the rural home is also at hand as a fourth force making for change. Electricity is the instrument. In 1930 less than 15 per cent of our farm homes used electricity. In January, 1944, 45 per cent of the six million farm homes and 60 per cent of the total 16 million rural homes had this power source. Post-war plans call for an extension of power lines that will bring electricity to almost every rural region. Some of the greatest limitations to convenient rural and farm home life are on the way out completely. Electrically operated washing and ironing units, adequate lighting, running hot and cold water, and quick freezing and storage refrigerators mean that families need not fear to take up residence in rural areas because desired facilities cannot be used. The rural delivery truck will supply any other needs such as bakery, butcher and cleaning services.

But the factors behind this revolution are not solely material changes. Social inventions are revolutionizing the institutional patterns of rural life and integrating rural and urban. American tradition has always included the wish that all youth have a chance at a well-rounded and properly founded education. Rural parents often moved to the larger centers to obtain it for their children. City resi-

dents would not move to rural areas because they could not get it. Now this opportunity is present in the rural areas also. The centralized school is one of the most important social inventions of our times, for it introduced a practical and high quality elementary and secondary education system into village and open country life. The growth in the number of such schools has been as phenomenal as the other changes in rural life. One illustration will emphasize this. In 1925, 15,000 schools used 26,685 busses to drive 875,000 children a one-way distance of 316,000 miles to such schools. Only fifteen years later three times as many schools used almost four times the number of busses to transport four million children a one-way distance of 1,250,000 miles to these schools. To-day rural children are taught in open-country, village or city schools that begin to equal the urban schools and what disadvantages still remain are rapidly being eliminated.

Beginning in the late twenties and increasing rapidly up to the present time, the Federal government, because of economic crisis, regional weather difficulties, and the war, has moved into new areas of control in rural territory. Through a number of agencies contacting rural life directly, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and others, new policies in the field of public welfare, public works, farm production-control,

and the readjustment of people to the land have been introduced. Rural people now have a new consciousness of the Federal government. It extends to the remotest areas for government contacts have been wider and more intimate than many suspect. Whether the consequence will be for the rural people to expect help with every problem that arises and thus display a paralysis of effort, cannot be predicted but the stage is set very definitely for government to play a role in rural affairs hitherto unknown.

Here then is a series of revolutionary changes in transportation, in communication, in the commercialization and mechanization of farming, in the mechanization of the home, in education, in the economic operations of rural people, and in rural government which already has led to tremendous changes in rural life. Their future influences will probably be even more dramatic than those that have been suggested. There is in creation then and to a considerable extent already here, what can be the most attractive dwelling environment in our land, namely the mechanized rural community.

Will these changes lead us in the rural America of Tomorrow to this most attractive prospect? If so, the task ahead is to bring about a realization of the interrelatedness of all these forces so that coordination in rural affairs may be developed as they unfold. To suggest that this is the task assumes that social cooperation is desirable and possible, not intolerable and impractical. This does

not mean that some super-group will project a master plan into which the rural areas must be fitted. It does mean that the agencies working for and with rural people must project themselves into the future with well-ordered thought toward definite ends, modifiable to meet contingencies, but capable of establishing the basic structure around which this mechanized community can be organized. To do this means to proceed with mastery and not simply to drift.

What then are some of the problems which it can now be seen will demand planning as a result of these revolutionary changes in our rural areas?

It is possible that these social changes may destroy the rural community, that is, destroy the sense of oneness existing in the thinking and behavior of the rural people. The movement into rural territory of urban people is introducing a heterogeneity of population types with widely different interests than those expressed by the farm and village residents. A new class structure is being evolved both from the addition of these new inhabitants and within the farming group itself. Special interests are being sharpened by the specializations in agriculture and within the new residents in these territories. The dairy farmer has a set of unique problems, for example, not shared by the fruit farmer and both of these have particular problems with which the non-farm resident thinks he is not concerned at all. The new non-farm resident may

not transfer his own basic interests from the city to the rural situation in which he is now a dweller. He may reside in rural territory yet never truly become a part of it in the community sense. In other words new inhabitants and new farm groupings may result in a dividing of rural communities into a series of antagonistic special interest classes.

Here is a challenge. We have never taken seriously and, therefore, have never educated consistently for "community" living. In the formative periods of our rural development, community was a reality because of occupational, nationality and cultural homogeneity. New arrivals, urbanization, unstable forms of work, new institutions, and new government activities made impossible a fixed structure. The pursuit of individual interests made many blind to common interests except in periods of crisis, so we have failed to educate for "communal" life. Now there is the threat of destroying what "community" there is. With proper planning, however, there are those who can see consolidated rural communities large enough to support all the modern institutions required by rural residents. The very problems created by these new situations should encourage such cooperation.

What of the major occupation in rural areas? Many predict that these new social forces will eliminate the family-sized farm for the large mechanized and corporate farm and that the new rural dwellers will increase part-time and subsistence

farming. If we use as a rough indication of family-sized farms those between 20 and 499 acres, it can be pointed out that between 1920 and 1940, these farms decreased in number in the United States by 14 per cent. On the other hand farms of less than 20 acres increased in number 34 per cent, while those of 500 acres or more increased 22 per cent. Farm mechanization will make for larger units of operation requiring greater capital outlays and more farm laborers. As a consequence commercial farming will call for more skillful operators, financiers, and marketing experts. Commercial agriculture will, indeed, already does, demand scientific knowledge and business acumen comparable to that required in urban business. Those who survive will undoubtedly enjoy larger incomes, higher standards of living, and a social class position comparable to business and professional workers. If farm machinery is built, and much already has, that will fit the demands of the family-farm unit efficiently and economically, the fear of the abnormal growth of large corporate farms may be unwarranted. But the selective process will eliminate the inefficient commercial farmers and probably drop them into the farm labor class or other occupations.

Here is an important problem. Rural environments can be injured decidedly by the development of a poverty-stricken class of farm workers. While there is being created a more prosperous farm operator, there must not be created a more impov-

erished farm laborer. Regulations covering housing, health facilities, and other imperative needs for the farm laborer can be devised. An important question is whether social security and unemployment benefits need to be expanded to include these workers.

In 1940, approximately one in each six farms in this country was less than 20 acres in size. These are chiefly noncommercial units of the part-time, residence, or subsistence variety. They do not produce over ten per cent of our agricultural products. The part-time farmers have occupations from which they earn their basic living but supplement this with small farming operations. Subsistence farmers give their major attention to their farm work and depend upon it for a living. The small residence farmer is near the retirement age. Planning for these groupings must include supplementary employment, social security, old age benefits, health, hospitalization and medical care, together with improvements in education, avocational interests and recreation.

The planning of public works programs for rural areas to supplement the resources of these workers, if they cannot be absorbed in part-time private industrial enterprises, is essential. Work on rural public buildings, schools and roads or helping to install village and small city public utilities such as water systems can be projected.

These farm labor and small farmer groupings will become increasingly important in our rural scheme. The

basic philosophical conception about farming from our past history is that the laborer and the tenant should climb the agricultural ladder to farm ownership. Now commercial agriculture will make this impossible for many. We have no ideational objectives for them. Aside from the mere physical requirements of living, they must have spiritual support lest they become disillusioned and fatalistic.

Our greatest danger of developing rural slums where pockets of impoverished farm laborers and residence and subsistence farmers exist back in hills and in the poor land areas lies just here. In this respect rural churches, rural schools, extension and social workers can play an important role.

And what of the institutions of rural life, the school, the church, and rural government? The basic question here is whether the urban mentality will submerge the rural and push it into a position of subordination. If we did not expect the development of a strong farm class that will militantly protect the interests of village and farm people, we would surely feel that this also is a grave danger. But we anticipate more emphatic expression from this rural population just because they will see their problems more vividly. The individualistic farmer may have learned that the general well-being transcends personal and individual wishes while the new migrant from the city may see the unity and interrelatedness of the common interests. Here there must

be wise thinking or conflicts will be sharp. For example while the school curriculum must provide opportunity for agricultural training and farm living it must also prepare for urban and industrial occupations. These can be coordinated and rural education made more valuable than ever.

Rural people much more than urban have depended upon their own efforts for avocational pursuits. Now the radio, the dance hall and the movies are available. Will this use of home talent die out or will they spread to the new residents and help to weave them into the community in more wholesome and pleasurable manner?

A final area of extreme importance to the whole of our national life has to do with our population. The rural areas and especially the farm population has been the seed-bed of the human race. For centuries it has been the excess population from the farms that have maintained the urban populations. In 1930 to 1940, the net reproduction rates among rural women were double those of urban women, and the rates for the farm women were considerably more than double. Seven out of each ten children reared in rural areas must find employment in industrial activities or be added to

unemployment rolls, or become dependents in the rural areas.

Our country has no national population policy. Perhaps it cannot have, but population changes are at the root of many of our most serious problems. If a national policy should call for an increasing population, then, unless immigration laws are changed decidedly, birth rates must increase considerably and the rural and farm rates must be maintained, yes, even increased. But with the rural acceptance of urban mores, this is not at all likely. In fact, the evidence is in the opposite direction. Between 1910 and 1940 the net adjusted rate of reproduction per 1,000 farm women in this country dropped from 2,022 to 1,661, a decrease of 361 or 18 per cent. This decrease is numerically greater than that for either the rural non-farm or the urban women. The urbanization of rural areas is followed by a decrease in the rural birth rates. Although this might result in an increase in the rural standard of living, in a decrease in excess population in the rural areas to migrate to urban territory, and in cutting down the excess labor supply, it eventually means contributing even more rapidly to the anticipated national population decline.

# The Wheeler County, Texas, Rural Health Services Association

By M. Taylor Matthews†

## ABSTRACT

Prepayment medicine was not new to Wheeler County people. Local attitudes regarding federal participation in health programs grew out of general and local crises which resulted in adjustments of older ideologies relating to such aspects of health care as minimum service standards and personal or group responsibilities. Unusual conditions surrounding program operation resulted in some decline of membership but high program approval and morale were indicated by several indices. Numerous improvements were suggested many of which related to increased service-coverage at somewhat lower costs with better access to the metropolitan type of clinical facilities.

## RESUMEN

La medicina pagada anticipadamente no era cosa nueva para la gente de Wheeler County. La opinión local acerca de la participación federal en programas de salud nació de crisis generales y locales que resultaron en el ajustamiento de viejas ideologías sobre aspectos del servicio médico tales como la norma mínima de servicio y las responsabilidades individuales o del grupo. Debido a ciertas condiciones anormales referentes a la operación del programa hubo alguna baja en el número de miembros, pero todos apoyaron el programa en buen estado de ánimo según lo indican varios índices. Se sugirieron muchas mejoras, muchas de las cuales tenían que ver con el aumento del territorio de servicio a precios más bajos y con mejor acceso a las facilidades clínicas del tipo metropolitano.

Prepayment medicine was not new to Wheeler County people. The two physician-partners at the county seat had operated their own prepayment plan for medical, surgical, and hospital services at annual fees of \$17.50 for a single-person household or \$35-\$43 for families of two persons or more. Nearby was the Elk City, Oklahoma, cooperative Community Hospital.<sup>1</sup> The Elk City plan for about 15 years had offered stated services or reductions in costs of services upon purchase of a \$50 share in the cooperative and prepaid annual family fees of \$25.

Since September, 1940, an FSA medical group, unincorporated, had offered FSA borrowers in Gray and Wheeler Counties medical, surgical, and hospital service on annual prepayment of a \$26 family fee.

In 1940 the Wheeler County Land Use Planning Committee, comprising many farmers, had proposed organization of health services to provide greater accessibility and lower costs for good health care:

We propose that medical care for rural people be put on a more equitable basis through a program providing adequate medical attention for rural areas. A large number of people do not receive adequate medical attention. The problem is partially

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Shadid, *A Doctor for the People*, Vanguard Press, New York, 1939.

caused by the cost of medical attention in rural areas. . . . It is hoped that by listing the problem a solution will be worked out both to the advantage of the farm people and to the advantage of the people providing medical services<sup>2</sup>

Other recommendations and enterprises suggested objective problem-analysis and search for increased security through group action, as for instance: recommendations relating to conservation, tenant-contracts, marketing, freight rates, farm size, etc.; a cooperative economic structures such as cotton gins, a produce exchange, a creamery; widely used enterprises such as a cold storage locker plant, a rental laundry, and well-equipped cattle-auction barns.

This objective group approach seemed to have sprung from agricultural crises. These crises in turn had been brought about partly through general causes, as price levels and depressions, and partly through attempts by settlers from humid regions to introduce in this semi-arid Texas Panhandle county the unadapted type of farm economy they had previously known.

Other local conditions led to changes in health-related concepts and orientations regarding cooperation, governmental functions, efficient use of medical science and technology, group responsibilities for individual health care. These conditions in-

cluded: absence of a resident servile race or labor group; Western ways of estimating personal worth; better-than-average levels of living and understanding of overhead processes affecting agriculture; movement from pre-objective toward objective social organization as in development of special-function organizations and acceptance of expert - manager leadership.

People believed government was the natural structure through which individuals, classes, areas, might carry out essential functions and enterprises such as health care. Governmental participation in health programs they thought should include two functions: (1) financial aid or equalization for individuals and areas unable to support an adequate level of health care; and (2) the necessary integration and supervision required for such a national health program.

Three-fourths of the farm people approved permanent federal participation and equalization in health programs. Of these, two-thirds believed the federal government had a clear duty to originate and provide continuing participation in health programs; one-third approved without believing that participation was a moral obligation. Five per cent approved participation only in emergencies. Only 3 per cent opposed such aid.

Wealthier farm people were nearly as likely to approve a permanently aided program as poorer people were. Approval was as strong and frequent among owners as among renters or

<sup>2</sup>*Agricultural Land Use Planning in Wheeler County, Texas*, Wheeler County Land Use Planning Committee in cooperation with the A. & M. College of Texas and the United States Department of Agriculture, Oct., 1940, p. 32.

laborers and old age pensioners. Farmers often desired that permanent federal aid to health care be made available to town people as well as farmers.

Whether people viewed federal participation in health programs as undesirable, a social luxury, as a desirable action if convenient, or as a compelling duty and obligation, depended on the importance individuals attached to health, on the reasons for believing health was important, and on the individual's arrangement of concepts relating to social classes, government, personal rights, economic and social moralities, human nature, etc. From people's statements and from the assumptions they implied, it was possible to reconstruct their older ideology surrounding health care and to analyze recent changes in it.

#### The Older Ideology Relating to Federal Participation in Health Programs

A first principle was that individual will and natural processes, acting in concert with a benevolent providence, were superior to all obstacles.

In this framework of rewards and punishments, equal opportunities and endowments, and struggle—sometimes competitive, individuals were regarded as free moral agents capable of working out their own salvation and self-support if they worked hard and if they possessed self-reliance, initiative, and determination. It was assumed that people got about what they deserved and that the individual was responsible for his suc-

cess or failure. Thus, society had few duties to its members, and government had little right to interfere with the individual struggle or its consequences.

#### Ideological Adjustments Toward Approval of Federal Participation in Health Programs

Wheeler County people had reached numerous revisions in this older ideology—at least in the way they applied it to health care situations, without however lowering their regard for self-reliance or for the duty of trying to be self-supporting under a new definition of self-support.

Adjustments in old views about health care arose from reinterpretation of the health care situation and involved for different people various elements in the following processes:

1. Reinterpreting old principles to fit the spirit rather than the letter of the rule, e.g., only 2 persons out of the 153 families interviewed implied belief in strict interpretation for old rules of self-support in health care.
2. Allowing for exceptions to old rules in special, limited, or temporary situations as adjustment of old concepts of deservingness of aid or sympathy as relating to up-to-date health care without changing application of the old formula to other kinds of need.
3. Deciding which of two apparently conflicting rules, values, or desires should apply to the

health care situation, e.g., some, while desiring "fair prices" for or "protection" against large health expenses, also desired to escape acceptance of part-charity status when paying surgeon's or doctor's bills for "high-priced" services, wanted to "go on their own" and feel they "paid their way."

4. Recognizing new standards for applying old rules or concepts as in new definitions of what constitutes adequate or decent health care following developments of modern medical science.
5. Developing new values, e.g., attachment of increased importance to individual health and to accessibility of adequate health care; or emergence of new definitions of health "rights" for everybody regarded as implicit in a civilized society.
6. Discovering previously unrecognized factors in health situations that tied individual health service-accessibility to compelling values in a way that previously had not been seen. For instance implications of individual health for national welfare.
7. Attempting to preserve values regarded as imperative or central through waiving or adjusting less basic values which in the current situation seemed to conflict with

basic values of more importance. Such a process had occurred with people who believed that individual self-reliance and morale for self-support would be increased by eliminating health costs from the realm of things in which people should be expected to be individually self-supporting. Sometimes people who believed in group health programs but who resisted the idea that federal government was morally obligated to assist financially in a health program, nonetheless strongly desired permanent federal participation in health programs in order to guarantee program continuity and efficient standards of performance. For instance 44-M, upper-income renter, age 42:

I don't like to say the government ought to give permanent aid. But the people couldn't get along and run and pay for their schools by themselves; so it may be about like that with any health programs rural people try to set up. The government has to stay in to keep a program running right.

Middle-income people often referred to the high value of keeping out of unproductive debt, e.g., for expensive health care, as a crucial factor in their approval of federally equalized health programs. Some said such debts imperilled self-respect and morale for trying to be self-supporting. To quote 33-M, middle-income renter, age 39:

Having debts like that don't give a man a fair chance to be self-supporting—or to get any satisfaction out of trying to keep paid up with the world. You can't have much dignity, morale, or self-respect if you have a big debt hanging over you, that you'll never maybe be able to pay out.

8. Adjusting old rules or values to fit changed conditions, new situations, or improved understanding of old situations; as with those who said that modern science had changed the level of health care which ought to be available to everybody but that changes in other situations had made it less likely that everybody could feel any security in ability to obtain or pay for expensive health attentions their families might need.

For example, some said adequate self-support in health care was out of the question for so many people through no fault of their own, while at the same time full benefit of up-to-date health science was so obviously desirable for everyone, both from the viewpoint of personal satisfaction or right and from the viewpoint of group welfare, that provision or guarantee of such service became a group responsibility.

M-29, middle-income renter said:

I've been taught to pay my own expenses. But each child ought to have an equal share like it is in education. Besides, there's certain things like medicines, operations, and other kinds of health care that you've just

got to see that people are allowed to get whether we think they actually deserve them or not. An upper-income renter, 37-M, asserted:

People ought to be self-supporting but some can't; and in such cases, government should always fill the gap. For ten years here farmers were in a hard shape. So a lot of us around here haven't been self-supporting at times, but the individual farmers were not to blame for that.

9. Approving one segment of a new view without necessarily accepting the view in toto. A few persons who oriented themselves to federal participation in health programs mainly in the role of taxpay-ers generally approved govern-mental participation as bringing part of their taxes back to the community. Others approved segmental change in an old rule or orientation only after reassuring themselves that their general orientation had not changed. For instance, persons disapproving other aspects of federal activi-ty sometimes favored federal participation in health pro-grams as suggested by 4-F, low-income farm owner, age 54:

It's all right if the govern-ment's able to afford it. There's lots of low income people who wouldn't get medical attention without it. And if the govern-ment is going to spend so much money on so many things, this is as good a cause as they can find.

People wishing to regard themselves as self-supporting explained their approval of the health program by interpreting Federal aid as:

1. Assistance to doctors, not themselves.
2. As a lump sum contributed to the program, not to individuals.
3. As part of an "insurance" program, not assistance.
4. As "protection" against emergencies.
5. As more accurate than traditional methods of scaling medical costs to personal income or as a method which carried no "charity" implications.

### Structure of the Health Association

Participation in the association by eligible families involved no entrance examinations, no age limits, no waiting periods. For prepaid annual fees representing 6 (or 7) per cent of net income, member families received the services shown in the accompanying table. Also shown are methods used in paying service-agencies, as well as amounts allocated to each service-category from total per-family costs. When any family fee was less than total per-family costs the federal government through the U. S. Department of Agriculture, supplied the exact difference.

SERVICES, FEES, BASIS OF PAYMENT, AND STRUCTURE OF WHEELER COUNTY, TEXAS, RURAL HEALTH SERVICES ASSOCIATION, 1942-43 THROUGH 1944-45.

Services	Fee Allocations			Basis on which service agencies were paid <sup>a</sup>		
	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	1st year	2nd year	3rd year
General practitioner <sup>4</sup>	\$18	\$18	\$18	cap	cap	cap
Surgery <sup>5</sup>	6 <sup>6</sup>	6	6	ffs	cap	cap
Hospitalization <sup>7</sup>	12	12	12	ffs	cap	cap
Specialist referrals <sup>8</sup>	—	3	2	ffs	ffs	ffs
Dentistry <sup>9</sup>	6	0	7	ffs	—	cap
Drugs and sera <sup>10</sup>	6	0	8	cap	—	cap
Equalization <sup>11</sup>	3	0	0	—	—	—
Administration <sup>12</sup>	3	3	5	cap	cap	cap
Total per family cost	\$54	\$42	\$58			
Per cent of net income paid as family fee				1st year	2nd year	3rd year
Minimum and maximum family fees				6	7	7
Approx. average family fee				\$6-\$54	\$14-\$42	\$14-\$58
Approx. govt. contribution per member family				\$22	\$28	\$38
Per cent contributed by government				\$32	\$14	\$20
				61	33	35

<sup>a</sup> Cap: *Capitation plan*; ffs: *fee-for-service plan*. The capitation plan was largely equivalent to a salary arrangement. Each member family designated a participating physician, surgeon, dentist, etc., who then furnished all such families for 12 months

with stated services as needed for the amount shown in the table. Under the fee-for-service plan each family selected any participating service agency when needed. These agencies then submitted bills to the association for each separate service at

their usual rate, but with the understanding among all agencies participating in a given service-category that they would accept proportional part-payment in full settlement of charges if funds allocated to that category plus supplements from equalization funds were insufficient to meet total bills submitted for that type of service. All bills were paid in full except first-year hospital charges which were settled at 77.4 per cent of submitted bills.

<sup>1</sup> Except non-emergency home calls (doctor to determine when an emergency exists), and except non-emergency office calls at night. Tonsillectomies and deliveries were considered general practitioner services, except hospital care.

<sup>2</sup> All surgery performed by participating doctors or by specialists upon referral by the family physician-surgeon.

<sup>3</sup> First-year payments to specialists were made from surgery funds.

<sup>4</sup> Operating room as often as necessary. X-ray and laboratory services. Fifteen-day stay in hospital (ward room) any one case of illness (ten days for second and third years) for as many readmissions as necessary. Private room upon payment of additional daily charge. Complete obstetrical care, 3-day stay in hospital. Twenty-four hours stay in hospital for tonsillectomy.

<sup>5</sup> Use of any specialist service (except eye refractions) authorized by family physician.

<sup>6</sup> Dentistry, limited to extractions, common fillings, cleaning and treatment of oral diseases. No dental services were provided during the second year. During 3rd year \$1 used for dental equipment.

<sup>7</sup> All prescribed drugs and sera to a maximum of \$20 first year, \$40 third year, per family per year. No drugs or sera were provided by the association during the second year. Drugs, when offered, were supplied by physicians as had been their practice prior to the program. Druggists did not participate.

Chronic or incurable cases treated as one case of illness for the entire year. Crutches, belts, eye glasses and other appliances not furnished except for patient's welfare while in hospital. Rental treatments (such as radium) to be paid for by patient.

<sup>8</sup> To supplement other funds if necessary. One-half for hospital funds, one-fourth for surgery and referrals, one-eighth for dentistry, one-eighth for doctor's mileage on out of town calls.

<sup>9</sup> Incorporated under Texas laws as a benevolent and charitable organization, the

Association was governed by seven unpaid elected member-directors who employed a full-time salaried manager and a clerk. The U. S. Department of Agriculture was responsible for approving association contracts, auditing association books, designating banks in which funds should be kept, and employment of the association manager.

First-year membership was 981.

Second-year membership was only 432 families. Reasons for this decline included: withdrawal of physicians in the Shamrock medical area for local reasons; considerable program discontinuity and uncertainty incident to this withdrawal; narrowing of services through dropping drugs and dentistry, while at the same time increasing fees for all except upper-income families; and heavy migration from the area.

### Understanding of Program Structure and Objectives

Knowledge of program structure, purposes, and personnel, was highest among members, and among top and bottom income classes. But knowledge about program officials was only nominally valuable as an index to member-interest since people emphasized dependence on expert-management rather than older types of leadership and organization.

Physicians were most often named by all classes<sup>18</sup> as source of program information. Presence of ten other sources, however, suggested that any information-source was most effective only in conjunction with the others.

All classes said basing fees on income was "fairer" or "more reasonable" than other methods involving

<sup>18</sup> Population classes for this and other tabulations represented a stratified sample of 153 families classified as follows: members, former members, never-members; four income classes based on amount of first-year fee (estimated for never-members). Sample never-members were nearest never-member neighbors of sample members), and three tenure classes: farm owners, farm renters, others.

family-size, amount of service used, etc. All second-year members, three-fourths former members, one-third never-members, and seven-eighths the lowest income people knew what services were offered by the third-year program which was just beginning. No intensive informational program was being attempted.

#### Attitudes Toward the Health Program

Approval of the going program correlated closely with attitudes toward the general idea of federally equalized health programs discussed above. Approval of the program as a whole was stronger than approval of specific program aspects which people often thought were open to improvement. People wanted a full health program covering all needed aids and services. Proposals for improvement most often related to increased service facilities, especially access to more specialists. Two-thirds of the families suggested an average of three changes each. These changes related to 33 program aspects. Proposals for improvement most often related to increased service-facilities especially access to more specialists.

Improvements in other program aspects were suggested in the following order: provision of new services including full preventive, eye, and dental needs, better access to specialists, and coverage of members when away from home; reduction of fees and extra service charges; adjustments in administration, especially program coverage for wider areas and for nonfarm people, together

with elimination of recurring uncertainty regarding program continuity, program fees, and services offered.

Moderate program morale seemed indicated by belief among nine-tenths the program members and highest income families, three-fourths the never-members, and half the former members, that basic local interest had remained unshaken or was increasing. Reasons stated for believing interest was increasing included widened services and facilities, improved service quality, and better understanding of the program by people generally. One-eighth thought opinion was less favorable to the association than as of two years before; a similar number were uncertain.

#### General Effects of the Program

The program caused no change in supply of local physicians. Three-fourths all member classes said service received after joining the association was about the same as before. The others thought service had improved.

Two-thirds believed the program had changed health habits among members due to their feeling of freedom to visit the doctor oftener and earlier after joining the association, an attitude expressed by 6 members out of 10. Changes most often named were: increased preventive treatment; freedom to visit doctors oftener either for treatment or health check-ups; less delayed treatment; increased hospital care; and increased health interest. The program also helped to clear up an accumula-

tion of medical needs among member families. Only one-twelfth thought no change had occurred; the remaining one-fourth were undecided.

### Sociological Appraisal of the Program

#### Area Covered

Basing the program area on local medical areas regardless of county boundaries built the program around local doctors and perhaps over-signaled their central position in it. The medical area, however, seemed to local people the unit best adapted for expansion to include, or for contracting with, metropolitan medical service agencies. Program failure to retain the Shamrock medical area, or to expand to neighboring medical areas through growing accessions of physicians to the program was thought by some to be related to the practice of obtaining unanimous participation by physicians in each medical center before accepting participation by any practitioner there; and to the extremely personal, rather than impersonal, approach to physicians which was inherent in the use of small rural medical area units. Had it been possible for any individual doctor to have accepted program-participation on a fee-for-service basis, several out-of-county physicians might have cooperated, thus broadening the program-base.

The program was to some extent a unifying factor in the life of the area and would have been more unifying had nonfarm people been admitted to membership on the same basis as farm families were. Differences of

opinion among physicians resulting in withdrawal of the Shamrock doctors created a divisive situation which possibly retarded growth of greater unity between the two medical, and social, areas.

#### Services and Facilities

Wheeler physicians expanded their hospital and equipment in preparation for the program. Service-quality was said to be unchanged. The program did not greatly expand use of specialist and clinic facilities in the general region due to the few referrals made. Some expected that better access to specialists and clinical facilities would follow expansion of program-area, or of agency-participation, to a metropolitan medical region basis.

Still unsettled were problems of how to develop and integrate supporting health agencies not present in the county, e.g., public health organization including nursing and preventive services such as vaccinations. Regular health examinations had not been instituted although most people hoped everybody could have frequent and thorough health check-ups fully utilizing diagnostic science.

#### Adaptability of Capitation Payment Plans to Small Rural Units

The capitation plan which was largely equivalent to a salary arrangement emphasized group payment principles but was perhaps less satisfactory where physicians practiced separately than where several physicians including specialists were associated in a partnership, thus giv-

ing members choice of any physician in the group.

Since access to specialists was available to association members only upon written referral by their designated physician, greater freedom would have been offered in a small program such as Wheeler's by the fee-for-service plan. A few members pointed out that any restriction on access to facilities enhanced older concepts or practices in rural health care, and diminished any competition between rural and urban service-levels without guaranteeing members that local service facilities would match those of metropolitan health services.

#### Program Structure as Related to Local Social Structure: Responsibility

Local people felt that technical matters such as determining service-levels and negotiating service-costs, etc., should be left to technicians, and that local leaders should be responsible for interpreting the program to local people, for adapting the program to local conditions, and for generally supervising program operations. They believed certain local responsibilities demanded in the program assumed conditions of older rural leadership and interaction whereas local trends were toward impersonal structures and reliance on expert-managers.

## Prepayment Medical Care In Nevada County, Arkansas

By Theo L. Vaughan and Herbert Pryor†

### ABSTRACT

Farmers in Nevada County, Arkansas, organized their own cooperative health association in 1942 in an effort to provide themselves with essential medical care at a price which they could afford to pay. The program was one of seven sponsored and partly financed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture to determine feasible means of extending medical care in rural areas. Herein is a report on operations of the Nevada association during the 1942-43 and 1943-44 fiscal years.

Prepayment of membership fees coupled with grants-in-aid went far in eliminating the economic barrier to medical services. Even then, however, all groups did not take full advantage of services. County residents—members, non-members, and professional personnel—were overwhelmingly favorable to the program. Conclusions pertaining to strong and weak points of the health service, however, reveal that the Nevada plan is a step toward, but not a complete answer for, adequate medical care for rural people.

### RESUMEN

Los agricultores de Nevada County en Arkansas organizaron su propia asociación cooperativa de salud en 1942 para proveerse del cuidado médico esencial a un precio que pudieran pagar. Este programa fué uno de los siete promovidos y en parte pagados por el Departamento de Agricultura Federal para determinar la posibilidad de extender el cuidado médico a territorios rurales. He aquí un

informe de las operaciones de la asociación de Nevada durante los años fiscales 1942-43 y 1943-44.

El pago por adelantado de la cuota de ingreso junto con donaciones de ayuda eliminaron en gran parte la dificultad económica para utilizar los servicios médicos. Aún así, sin embargo, no todos los grupos pudieron servirse de todas las ventajas. Los residentes del distrito—los socios, los que no eran socios y el personal profesional—todos estaban completamente en favor del programa. Las conclusiones acerca de las ventajas y desventajas del servicio de salud, sin embargo, muestran que el plan de Nevada es sólo un paso y no la solución final en el cuidado médico adecuado para la población rural.

Back in 1941 the Secretary of Agriculture requested State Land Use Planning Committees to make recommendations to him relative to ways and means of assisting farmers to meet the impacts of war. Better rural health programs were advocated by the Arkansas committee<sup>1</sup> and likewise by all other state committees submitting reports.<sup>2</sup>

Responding to this widespread demand for better rural health, the U. S. Department of Agriculture offered grants-in-aid for conducting a limited number of experimental rural health programs on a county basis. Such experiments were to be designed and records so maintained as to provide objective data which would be of value in expanding rural health services and facilities throughout the nation. Subsequently seven programs were started in 1942, including the Nevada County Rural Health Services Association, Inc.<sup>3</sup> Recorded here-

<sup>1</sup> Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Arkansas State Land Use Planning Committee, *An Agricultural Program for Arkansas*, June, 1941, pp. 36-39.

<sup>3</sup> Interbureau Coordinating Committee, *A Post-War Program, U. S. D. A. Experimental Rural Health Program*, March, 1941, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Experimental rural health programs organized in 1942 on a county basis included: Cass County, Texas; Hamilton County, Nebraska; Nevada County, Arkansas; Newton

with are some observations pertaining to the Nevada County experiment during its first two years of operation, September 15, 1942-September 14, 1944.

#### Nevada County

Nevada County is located in the Coastal Plains of southwestern Arkansas. Farming, mostly on a subsistence or near subsistence basis, is the principal industry. Cotton is the main cash crop. Gross income per farm for products sold, traded, or used at home during 1939 was \$555.00. Obviously, such modest farm income is not sufficient to provide adequate medical care and other necessities. The rural level of living index for 1940 was 78, compared to 75 for Arkansas and 100 for the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Total population of the county in 1940 was 19,868, 63.0 per cent white and 37.0 per cent Negro. Rural-farm population was 13,795, 61.3 per cent white and 38.7 per cent Negro. There were 2,492 farm operators in the

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County, Mississippi; Taos County, New Mexico; Walton County, Georgia; and Wheeler County, Texas. All but Hamilton County, Nebraska, were in operation in 1945.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Rural Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1940*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., October, 1948.

county, 47.2 per cent of whom were owners and 52.8 per cent tenants.

The county, covering an area of 616 square miles, is served by gravel and unimproved roads. One stretch of pavement, U. S. Highway 67, crosses the northwest section of the county. The county seat of Prescott, 1940 population of 3,177, located in the northwest part of the county, is one of two incorporated towns and the only urban center in the county.

#### Medical Facilities and Services Within County

There were 19 general practitioners in Nevada County in 1941, one physician per 1,046 population. War took its toll of doctors until by fall of 1944, 5 had gone into the armed forces. In addition, 4 had moved out of the county and 3 had died. Thus the number was reduced to 7—6 white and 1 Negro—a ratio of 1 physician per 2,296 estimated population. Five of the doctors were more than 60 years of age, 5 were concentrated in the northern section of the county, and 1 devoted a large share of time to surgery.

One eye-ear-nose-throat specialist and two dentists who were in the county in 1941 were likewise there in 1944. One of the dentists, however, had just returned to the county after an absence of nearly two years.

The only hospital in the county, privately owned and operated, contained 25 beds—21 rooms with single beds for white patients and 2 rooms with 2 beds each for Negro patients.

Midwifery, although declining, was still common practice. Thirty-six mid-

wives—35 Negro and 1 white—were registered with the county nurse in November, 1944.

With respect to public health services, the county was part of a three-county district. The district office in an adjoining county ordinarily was staffed by physician (position vacant in 1944), sanitarian, and clerk. There was, however, a full time public health nurse located in Nevada County.

There were three drug stores in the county in 1944 as before the war, all located in the county seat. In addition, two physicians in small villages compounded and dispersed some drugs.

Obviously, the rural health experiment was conducted during a time when available services and facilities were hard pressed to meet the demand for medical care.

#### Highlights of Program

Implicit in the Nevada County experiment are three assumptions:

1. Technical aspects of medicine should be left to physicians, but organization for bringing medical services and patients together in a mutually satisfactory manner should be directed by laymen.
2. Farm families within the county could receive much better medical care than they do at present if they could and would take full advantage of available health services and facilities.
3. Reduction of the economic barrier is the most effective

approach in getting farm people to take greater advantage of available health services and facilities.

**Organization Structure**—Acting on the assumption that laymen should perfect social machinery for bringing patients and medical services together, farmers organized the Nevada County Rural Health Services, Inc., and chartered the organization with the State of Arkansas as a non-stock cooperative. The purpose of the association was to provide members and their families medical care, hospitalization, drugs, nursing, and kindred services at a price they could afford to pay.

A board of directors composed of five member farmers, one elected from each of five districts in the county, directs the affairs of the association. Board members elect from their number a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer, all of whom serve without compensation. The board likewise selects a full-time paid manager who is responsible for conducting association business from day to day. The manager in turn selects a clerk-stenographer subject to approval by the board. Each professional group—physicians, dentists, druggists<sup>\*</sup>—appoints a committee to review and approve bills and to handle professional matters such as standards of service.

**Services Provided**—Services offered to association members and their families, according to agreements with professional groups, in-

cluded general practitioner care, major surgery and specialist care, hospitalization, and dentistry. All prescribed drugs were paid for by the association during the first five months, whereas one-half of drug bills were paid for the remainder of the first fiscal year, and drugs were discontinued altogether the second year.

General practitioner care included home, office, and hospital calls, along with obstetrics and minor surgery. Major surgery and specialist care were available to member patients upon referral by the attending physician. Most surgery was done by a local physician who likewise did general practice.

Hospitalization included services usually provided by hospitals, such as room, food, operating room, anaesthetic, X-ray, and nursing service, for a maximum of fourteen days per year. Obstetrical cases were hospitalized only upon advice of attending physician, and for not more than five days. Such advice was relatively frequent, however, in view of the wartime shortage of doctors.

Dental services covered such minimum essentials as extractions, relief from pain, treatment of infection, fillings, and X-rays usually provided by the dentist.

Preventive care received very little attention during the first two years, although the U. S. Department of Agriculture had stressed the importance of this phase of the program.

**Membership Fees**—The economic barrier to better medical care was

\* Drugs were not included second year.

greatly reduced, but not eliminated, by substantial grants to the association from the U. S. Government through the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Such grants made it possible to arrive at a family membership fee formula based essentially on ability to pay. For the 1942-43 fiscal year, each family paid six per cent of net cash family income for 1941, except no family paid less than \$5 and none more than \$54. Minimum fee for the second year was raised to \$12 and the maximum lowered to \$48. Any difference between amount paid by a family and cost per family of operating program was made up from grant funds.

#### Health Service in Action

**Membership Coverage**—The initial membership campaign was channeled through white and Negro neighborhood and community leaders. These voluntary workers had been appointed by the Agricultural Extension Service to assist with all programs pertaining to agriculture. Meetings were held throughout the county, leaflets distributed, and letters written. At the request of doctors, only limited newspaper publicity was given to the program.

Membership the first year included 1,437 families and 6,850 persons, compared with 1,179 families and 4,660 persons the second year. Despite nominal membership fees made possible through Government grants, only about 6 out of 10 eligible persons were covered the first year and about 4 out of 10 the second (table I). Both the percentage of eligible

Negroes and the percentage of eligible people from the southern section of the county were reduced markedly the second year. Whereas tenants comprised 56 per cent of farm operators included in the membership the first year, they comprised only 41 per cent the second.

TABLE I. ESTIMATED RURAL-FARM POPULATION, AND PER CENT OF POPULATION WHO WERE MEMBERS OF NEVADA COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICE, BY RACE AND BY SECTION OF COUNTY, 1942-43 AND 1943-44.

Item	Rural-farm Population <sup>a</sup>		Per cent members of Health Service	
	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44
<b>Section of County</b>				
North	3,875	3,297	43.0	51.0
Central	2,740	2,677	50.0	51.0
South	5,307	5,186	66.0	31.0
<b>Race</b>				
White	7,000	6,839	59.0	49.0
Negro	4,422	4,321	50.0	30.0
Total	11,422	11,160	56.0	42.0

<sup>a</sup> 1940 U. S. Census figures adjusted according to registration for War Ration Books, assuming uniform reduction by race and by section of county.

Reduction in membership the second year, especially among Negroes, might be accounted for as follows:

1. Increase from \$5 to \$12 in minimum membership fee.
2. No drugs supplied second year.
3. Curtailment of home calls as result of doctor shortage.
4. Failure of association to conduct strong educational campaign.
5. Lack of vigorous membership campaign the second year.

All of the foregoing factors apply especially to the southern section of the county, which has a relatively heavy Negro population and is farthest away from Prescott, county seat and medical care center.

**Utilization of Services**—An objective comparison of medical care received by members before and after they joined the association was not possible, since records were not available prior to the inception of the program. Four out of ten members, however, said their families were receiving better medical care through the Health Service than they obtained before joining the association. None said his family was receiving poorer care than formerly.

Participating physicians and dentists without exception stated that a substantial proportion of members were getting better medical attention than ever before. "People in the Health Service," said one doctor, typical of others, "are becoming increasingly health conscious. They come to the doctor earlier than previously, thus making early diagnosis possible. They likewise rely on their physicians more and on home remedies less. Many people who have been ill for years from chronic ailments such as hernia, hemorrhoids, and injuries at childbirth have had those conditions cleared up." Improvement in dental care was even more pronounced, according to reports from dentists.

Rates of service, however, varied according to social distance between groups and geographical distance of members from medical care services. For example, rate of practitioner care for members and their families in the southern section of the county, farthest away from Prescott, center of medical services and facilities, was lower than the rate for members in

the central and northern sections (table II). Similarly, rate of practitioner care for Negroes was decidedly lower than for whites.

TABLE II. RATE OF GENERAL PRACTITIONER CALLS PER 1,000 PERSONS FOR 460 PERSONS INCLUDED IN 118 SAMPLE FAMILIES, NEVADA COUNTY, ARKANSAS, RURAL HEALTH SERVICE, BY TYPE OF CALL, BY SECTION OF COUNTY, AND BY RACE, 1943-44 FISCAL YEAR.

Item	General Practitioner Calls		
	Office	Home	Total
Nevada County	2,574	367	3,074
Section of county			
North	2,449	521	3,108
Central	3,267	384	3,849
South	2,027	177	2,265
Race			
White	3,401	445	4,050
Negro	1,037	224	1,261

Source: Health Service records.

Relatively low rates of service for members in the southern section of the county indicates a weakness of an administrative unit covering only one county. People in the southern section were closer to other medical centers, likewise their accustomed trading places, than to Prescott. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that these people would have obtained better medical care if adjoining counties had been included in the program.

While there was no evidence of unusual discrimination against Negro members, facilities and services, as in other southern communities, were not available to them on quite the same basis as for whites. It appeared, however, as if culture was the chief contributing factor to relatively low rates of service for Negroes. They

had not been accustomed to calling or going to see a physician except as a last resort. Instead, they relied on patent medicines, herbs, and charms. Removal of the economic barrier, therefore, was not sufficient to cause Negroes immediately to take full advantage of medical care to which they were entitled. Much educational work will need to be done in order to change deep-rooted habits of dependence upon folk medicine.

Despite low rates of service for Negroes generally, marked improve-

every indication that it did play an important part.

**Finances**—Cost of operating the program was \$72,344.65 during the 1942-43 fiscal year and \$56,579.25 the next. Of these amounts, membership fees accounted for \$11,835, 15.7 per cent the first year, and \$21,504.00, 38.0 per cent, the second. Source of additional funds used to equalize costs was, of course, U. S. Government grants.

Operating cost averaged \$50.33 per family the first fiscal year, \$7.90 of

TABLE III. PER CENT OF BABIES BORN TO MOTHERS IN NEVADA COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICE BEFORE THEY JOINED THE ASSOCIATION<sup>7</sup>, AND DURING 1943-44<sup>8</sup>, BY ATTENDANT, BY PLACE OF DELIVERY, AND BY RACE.

Item	White		Negro		White and Negro	
	Before joining	1943-44	Before joining	1943-44	Before joining	1943-44
<b>Attendant</b>						
Physician	90.4	100.0	28.0	77.3	68.2	94.1
Midwife	9.6	0.0	72.0	22.7	31.8	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Place of delivery</b>						
Home	98.1	46.0	97.1	77.1	97.8	54.1
Hospital	1.9	54.0	2.9	22.7	2.2	45.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>7</sup> Includes 581 babies born to mothers in 10 per cent sample before they joined Health Service.

<sup>8</sup> Includes 86 babies born during 1943-44 to all mothers in Health Service.

ment was evident in the care of obstetrical cases. About 8 out of 10 babies born to member Negro mothers during 1943-44 were attended by physicians, compared to about 3 out of 10 cases before mothers joined the association (table III). Increase in the proportion of white maternal cases hospitalized was likewise noticeable. While all improvement in maternal care should not be attributed to the Health Service, there is

which came from family membership fees; and \$47.99 per family the second, with \$18.25 from family membership fees.

Professional groups participating in the program agreed to an allocation of funds per family as indicated in the budget column, table IV. Funds for separate services were divided into 12 equal parts, and one part made available for payment of bills each month. Bills were submitted on

a fee-for-service basis as in private practice. Where amount of bills was greater than amount of available funds for a given service any one month, bills were paid according to a percentage relationship corresponding to that of amount of funds allo-

practitioner care was low compared to bills submitted on a fee-for-service basis both the first and second years (table IV). Funds for the services were supplemented, however, from unexpended balances allocated to other services, thus making final rates

TABLE IV. AVERAGE AMOUNT OF BUDGET, BILLS, AND PAYMENT PER FAMILY AND PER CENT OF AMOUNT BILLED PAID, NEVADA COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICE, 1942-43 AND 1943-44.

Item	Budget	Bills	Payment	
			Amount	Per cent of amount billed
General practitioner				
1942-43	\$16.00	\$21.96	\$19.61	89.3
1943-44	16.00	26.15	24.05	91.9
Surgeon-specialist				
1942-43	6.00	6.95	6.60	94.9
1943-44	6.00	7.10	6.77	95.4
Hospitalization				
1942-43	10.00	9.00	9.00	100.0
1943-44	10.00	8.57	8.57	100.0
Dentistry				
1942-43	7.00	6.81	6.81	100.0
1943-44	7.00	5.80	5.60	100.0
Administration				
1942-43	3.00	2.77	2.77	100.0
1943-44	3.00	3.00	3.00	100.0
Drugs				
1942-43	7.00	5.63	5.63	100.0
1943-44	,	,	,	,
Nurse <sup>o</sup>				
1942-43	2.50	0.41	0.41	100.0
1943-44	,	,	,	,
Contingent				
1942-43	2.50			
1943-44	0.00			
Total				
1942-43	\$54.00	\$53.03	\$50.33	94.9
1943-44	\$42.00	\$50.48	\$47.99	95.2

<sup>o</sup> Service not provided during 1943-44.

<sup>o</sup> Nurse employed only from February 10, 1943, to June 20, 1943.

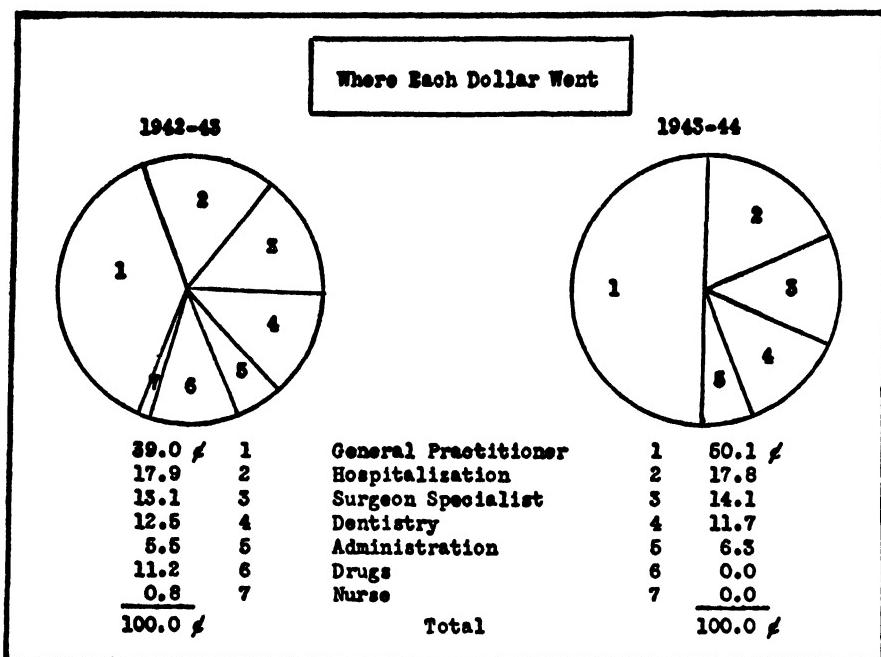
Source: Health Service records.

cated to amount of bills submitted for the month. Unpaid balances were carried forward and additional payments made every six months in case any surplus funds were accumulated.

The amount budgeted for general

of payment fairly high. Expenditures for practitioner care, as would be expected, were much greater than for any other service.

Since payments on drug bills ran only 65 per cent during the first



Source: Health Service records.

three and one-half months, druggists notified the association that they could not continue on such a basis. During an interim of about six weeks when few drugs were supplied, an arrangement was worked out for the remaining seven months of the fiscal year whereby one-half of drug bills were paid by the Health Service and one-half by members. Drugs were discontinued the second year, not because druggists were unwilling to continue on a fifty-fifty basis, but because it appeared as if the budget was insufficient to include medicines.

**Local Opinion Regarding Experiment**—Sentiment in Nevada County was overwhelmingly favorable to the health program. All participating physicians, dentists, and druggists<sup>11</sup> expressed approval of the plan. Although 50 per cent of 1943-44 members, 39 per cent of former members, and 36 per cent of never members were somewhat vague as to the purpose of the Health Service, most of them nonetheless liked the plan—perhaps because of what it had meant to their families (table V).

<sup>11</sup> Participated first year only.

**TABLE V. PER CENT OF MEMBERS, FORMER MEMBERS, AND NEVER MEMBERS OF NEVADA COUNTY RURAL HEALTH SERVICE WHO CONSIDERED PROGRAM A GOOD THING FOR THEIR FAMILIES, COMMUNITY, AND COUNTY, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1944.**

Opinion Relative to Health Service	Members N=118	Former Members N=51	Never Members N=152
<b>Good thing for:</b>			
His family	97.5	80.4	80.3
His community	99.2	96.1	91.4
Nevada County	99.2	90.2	90.8

Farmers who did not consider the program a good thing for their families usually had few dependents and felt it was to their advantage to pay doctor bills on a fee-for-service basis and thus take a chance on the cost of medical care.

Many farmers did not think of the program as fully available to all people within the county engaged in agriculture. They looked upon it as a type of relief—for low income people only. This attitude, along with widespread lack of knowledge pertaining to the purpose of the association, reflected a weakness in the educational aspects of the program. There was little resentment of government assistance, however, even among members who clearly understood that all farm families, regardless of status, were eligible for membership. Some spoke of the grant as a sort of equalization fee, corresponding to state or federal aid for roads or education.

Method of determining membership fees was a troublesome aspect of the program. Only one-half the members were satisfied with the present method of basing fees on family income only. About 1 out of 10

thought that fees should be the same for every family, and about 4 out of 10 thought that fees should be based on income but increased with size of family. These points of view obviously are not in keeping with the ability-to-pay principle.

Additional services which should be provided by the association according to specified percentages of second year members were as follows: drugs, 20 per cent; specialists<sup>12</sup>, 5 per cent; refractions and glasses, 3 per cent; false teeth, 1 per cent. Many members likewise looked forward to a time following the war when additional physicians would return to the county, thus making it easier to obtain or see a doctor.

#### Favorable and Unfavorable Features of Nevada Plan

Out of the Nevada County experiment has come some positive and some negative lessons with respect to providing rural people essential medical care within their financial means. Outstanding among both the favorable and the unfavorable features as revealed thus far are the following:

##### Favorable Features

1. Recognition of insurance principle by providing for medical care on a group basis.
2. Prepayment of medical care services by member families in keeping with financial ability.
3. Equalization fund from Federal Government to make up

<sup>12</sup> Probably meant without referral from family physician, since specialists were available on a referral basis.

- difference between amount collected from membership fees and total cost of program.
4. Membership open to all farm people in county regardless of race, creed, or financial circumstances, and not merely to one segment of the rural population such as members of one organization or group.
  5. Health association democratically controlled and administered by local people. Recognizing a difference between technical and social aspects of medicine, farmers took the lead in perfecting an organization for bringing physicians and laymen together in a mutually satisfactory manner.
  6. All matters pertaining to technical aspects of medicine left entirely to medical profession.
  7. Members have free choice of participating physicians, dentists, hospitals, and druggists. Similarly, professional people are equally free to accept or reject patients as in private practice.

#### Unfavorable Features

1. Available medical care did not include a comprehensive program of preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic services.
2. Acute wartime shortage of medical personnel.
3. No effective method of improving quality of care had been worked out.
4. Lack of educational program designed not only to assist

people in acquiring sound health habits and attitudes, but likewise in helping them to understand and appreciate purpose and function of their Health Service.

5. Program limited to farm people in contrast to including the total population—rural and urban.
6. Coverage of farm people, especially Negroes and families in southern section of county, was not comprehensive.
7. Confining program to one county limited scope and quality of medical services, made it difficult for farmers in remote sections of county to obtain medical care, and kept administrative costs at a fairly high level.
8. Selection of risks was unfavorable. Membership was limited to farm people, with a high proportion of low-income families, and there were no limitations of membership relative to medical history. In addition, there was a disproportionate number of children and old people in program during the war years when many vigorous young people were in armed service or else away at war plants.

The Nevada plan is thus by no means a complete answer to the query: How can essential medical care be effectively provided for all farm people? The experiment, however, has provided some signposts along the way.

## NOTES

*Edited by Paul H. Landis*

### A WARTIME BACK-TO-LAND MOVEMENT OF OLD AGE GROUPS\*

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the process of ageing and in the problems and characteristics of the older person.<sup>1</sup> Such an interest may be prompted by the fact that the population in the United States is maturing rapidly and that in coming years old people will play a part of increasing importance.<sup>2</sup> The role and status of old persons vary with the definitions supplied by custom and cultural norms and the statement of them varies also with research purposes. Deterioration of mental and physical abilities and skills is commonly considered the more significant aspects of old age. Sometimes the term old age is only a statistical distinction, as designating anybody over 65 years. A vivid illustration of a customary definition is found in the Irish countryside where a "boy" in farm work and rural vocabulary may be a single man 45 or even 50 years old and where "old men" are all farm fathers with complete families.<sup>3</sup> A common pre-war conception of industrial old age was "too old to work at 45," an idea which may again

\* The authors are indebted to Walter C. McKain, Jr., of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, for suggesting and implementing the study.

<sup>1</sup> George Lawton, Editor, *New Goals for Old Age* (Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1943); E. V. Cowdry, Editor, *Problems of Ageing* (Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, Md., 2nd ed., rev. 1942); Symposium in *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 10, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Dublin, "Statistical and Social Implications in the Problem of our Ageing Population," *Medical Problems of Old Age* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1941); National Resources Committee, *Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington, D. C., 1938), p. 25 and pp. 31-34.

<sup>3</sup> Conrad Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman*, Chap. IV (New York): The Macmillan Company, 1937).

affect many with the end of war production.<sup>4</sup> Retirement appears to be considered popularly as the doorway to the role and status of the old person. Depending upon the cultural and economic valuations applied to them and upon the condition of their physiological age, many people from 45 years on face a confusing and bewildering situation ranging from economic displacement to institutionalization.

Recognition of the importance of the older age groups and efforts to deal with some of the problems are found in the social security program, in various types of institutions and homes, and in new developments of group living such as the Millville Colony in New Jersey and the Fort Green Houses in Brooklyn. In addition to such formal and institutionalized efforts there has been a back-to-land movement, a rural settlement by the middle aged and older persons.<sup>5</sup> For older people such a move to the land is essentially a matter of retirement. For the middleaged group the main problem centers upon getting a living. In this instance a back-to-land movement is linked with a drive for security. Such settlement was especially noticeable during the last depression when people moved to cutover and foothill areas, but it is somewhat surprising when such movement takes place during the prosperity boom of a war period.

There are areas in the Pacific Coast states, as for example, the southern coastal section of Santa Barbara County and various sections of Santa Cruz County, Calif.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Wermel and Selma Gelbaum, "Work and Retirement in Old Age," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1945, pp. 18-21.

<sup>5</sup> *Social Characteristics of Part-time Farmers in Washington*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 380, Pullman: July, 1939.

fornia, and Grants Pass in southern Oregon, where older people have migrated and retired upon a small ranch or rural residence. Many of these people are fairly wealthy, but the less wealthy have also established themselves upon the land, even those who receive their income from old age pensions. It thus appears that through their own means or with public aid, older people are able to create a satisfying social role and maintain a sense of dignity and worth. This situation was examined in Butte County, California, where a sort of grass-roots retirement and back-to-land movement is apparently taking place. While this may not be the pattern of the future, it is a suggestion of what a certain segment of the population might do. Research in other regions might profitably determine the extent and ramifications of such a trend.

In 1940, persons over 64 years of age were 10 per cent of the population of Butte County as compared to 8 per cent for California, 7 per cent for the Sacramento Valley, and 6 per cent for the San Joaquin Valley. The age group between 45 and 64 years was about the same as the State's 23 per cent of the population. Net migration into the county between 1930-40 indicated that the number and proportion of elderly residents was growing. Thus, of 7,300 in-migrants 37 per cent were males and 29 per cent were females between the ages 45 and over as compared to 20 per cent and 22 per cent for California. There were, furthermore, more old-age pensioners than in any other part of the State, both in proportion to the total population and in relation to potential clients. They composed 4.8 per cent of the civilian population in November, 1943, and 48 per cent of the age group 65 and over in 1940. A large number of these people are living in the foothill area of the county, and even during the war years people continued to move into this part of the county. These statements may give the impression that the county is turning into an old people's home, which is far from true. It does appear, however, that many people in the middle ages who may be economically displaced, and

many older people are concentrating in certain areas of the county.

Rapid settlement is suggested by a high rate of turnover of rural land in the foothill area. Of 430 tracts 60 per cent changed hands between 1935 and 1945. From 1935 to 1940 there was a 30 per cent turnover which increased to 44 per cent between 1940 and 1945. The turnover involved the sale of raw lands rather than the sale of occupied units and was primarily the result of splitting up large landholdings and the sale of scattered tracts formerly in the hands of one landowner. Thus the number of owners of these 430 tracts increased from 294 in 1935 to 346 in 1945. The rate of turnover varied in different sections of the foothills, as did the type of settler.

Of these areas, the most unique is called Paradise, a community sprawling over several miles of country roads and highly publicized as an ideal rural residential area. "California at its best. Just enough altitude to be healthful, low enough to be comfortable in winter, spring, summer, and fall. A land of delightful scenic beauty, piney forests and beautiful orchards and garden lands."<sup>6</sup> The rate of turnover was highest of four areas studied, with 39 per cent of the tracts changing ownership between 1935 and 1940 and 62 per cent between 1940 and 1945. The size of tracts in 1945 was small, with 54 per cent under five acres and 82 per cent under ten acres. Such small holdings characterize in part the process of urbanization, but in this instance the development did not take place near a large city or even within a metropolitan area.

Talking with local residents, one finds that most of them have been in the community area a few weeks or perhaps a couple of years. Many are in their sixties and a few are in their late forties. Most of them have come from other parts of California, encouraged primarily by friends and relatives. In this way generation is a selective factor. Mahy came to Paradise because of their

<sup>6</sup> *The Land of Paradise*. Undated circular, published by Paradise and the Allied Communities Chamber of Commerce.

health, others because of their age, some because of retirement. The general picture is one of elderly couples, mostly with a nonfarm background, building up a small country place. The majority of newcomers do not expect to make their livelihood from the land. Many will depend upon accumulated savings and investments and upon pensions of various sorts, either private or public. There will be some supplemental income through a garden, chickens, and perhaps a couple of milk goats. Some of the younger newcomers expect to farm part-time and a few hope to become full-fledged farmers.

Paradise is a community composed predominantly of part-time farms and rural residences, but its organization and activities are urban. There are over thirty special-interest groups, covering all ages from Boy Scouts to Townsend clubs, Spanish War Veterans to American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, Masons to Grange, Junior Woman's Improvement Club to Parent-Teachers Association. The very names of these organizations reflect the age composition of the community where people associate as members of groups and because of like interests rather than as neighbors. Given financial means and independence, older people have come together and created a community of their own liking. This represents a novel situation in terms of age structure and community organization, and it is an interesting instance of a noninstitutional, informal development.

South of Paradise lies the Oroville-Wyandotte area, less advertised and more of an agricultural section. In this region there are prosperous-looking, high producing farms and also many ill-kept, submarginal farms. Part-time farms and rural residences are less numerous. The climate is generally mild, though some think the summers are extremely hot. Of the tracts examined in the Oroville-Wyandotte area, 28 per cent changed owners between 1935-40 and 44 per cent between 1940-45, considerably less than in the Paradise area. The size of tracts also varied. Twenty-eight per cent were under five acres, 50 per cent

under ten acres, and 19 per cent over fifty acres. This difference in size as compared with the Paradise area is significant, for it indicates that there will be greater reliance upon farming as a source of income. In fact, it was found after informal discussions with local residents that the newcomers were changing from their former occupations. While some were still engaged in nonfarm work, the majority hoped to become full-time farmers. Though friends and relatives, already established, encouraged some to settle in the area, others were stimulated through literature or had traveled looking for a place. Most of them were below fifty and a few had older children. They had lived in the county on the whole a much shorter time than Paradise residents. There is more of a back-to-land movement in this section, a security drive. Some had purchased old farms and a few were clearing land and building from the ground up. The city of Oroville dominates the area so that there is no corresponding locality sense or community feeling such as developed in Paradise.

Yankee Hill and Berry Creek were two other areas examined. Both are comprised of a rough, broken terrain at an elevation between 2,000 and 3,000 feet. Much of the area is in timber. Mining, lumbering, and livestock ranching are the principal occupations. The first two furnish off-farm employment for local residents and they have also drawn newcomers. The rate of turnover is lower than in Paradise or Oroville-Wyandotte. Between 1935-40 the turnover of tracts in Yankee Hill was 27 per cent and in Berry Creek 31 per cent. The wartime turnover, 1940-45, was 27 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. Tracts were larger. Around Yankee Hill 3 per cent were under 10 acres but 50 per cent were between 50-199 acres. In Berry Creek 7 per cent were under 10 acres, 52 per cent between 50-199 acres, and 22 per cent over 200 acres. Most of the settlers were below 45 years and about one-half wanted to draw their income from farming or ranching. The majority were changing from nonfarm occupations. Friends and relatives played

TABLE I. TURNOVER OF RURAL LAND IN FOUR SAMPLE AREAS OF THE FOOTHILL REGION OF BUTTE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, 1935-45.

	Area				
	Oroville-Wyandotte	Paradise	Yankee Hill	Berry Creek	Total
<b>Tracts studied:</b>					
Number	180	82	62	106	430
Per cent of all tracts in area	20	10	50	50	21
Per cent of tracts studied that changed ownership as follows:					
No change <sup>1</sup>	42	18	55	42	40
1935-1940 <sup>2</sup>	28	39	27	31	30
1940-1945 <sup>3</sup>	44	62	27	40	44
Both 1935-40 and 1940-45	14	19	9	13	14
Both 1940-44 and 1944-45	8	14	2	1	6

<sup>1</sup> The percentages shown total more than 100 to the extent that changes in ownership occurred on the same tract in both periods.

Source: Butte County Assessor's records.

TABLE II. SIZE OF TRACTS OF RURAL LAND THAT WERE STUDIED IN FOUR SAMPLE AREAS OF BUTTE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, 1945.

	Area				
	Oroville-Wyandotte	Paradise	Yankee Hill	Berry Creek	Total
Tracts studied, number	180	82	62	106	430
Median size, acres	10	5	78	140	25
Average size, acres	36	8	175	173	85
Per cent of tracts:					
Under 5 acres	28	54	0	5	23
5- 9 acres	22	28	3	2	16
10- 24 acres	23	10	10	5	14
25- 49 acres	8	7	18	14	11
50- 99 acres	9	1	32	15	12
100-199 acres	6	0	18	37	14
200-299 acres	4	0	11	4	4
300 and over acres	0	0	8	18	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Butte County Assessor's records.

an important role in encouraging settlement. Others knew the area from previous work experience or hunting and fishing trips. The farms are being extracted from the timbered hills. Though they are distant from the nearest town—Oroville—and dispersed among themselves, there appears to be more of a locality feeling, a certain amount of neighborliness and communication, than in the more populous Oroville-Wyandotte section.

This back-to-land movement in the foothills of Butte County has begun to develop new neighborhoods and to create an unique community. Each area has drawn distinctive age groups. There is almost a generation difference between the newcomers in Paradise and those in Yankee Hill and Berry Creek. Each group also has different intentions, the one completing a life cycle and the other wrestling with the problems

of livelihood and vocational readjustment. Friends and relatives were instrumental in drawing the newcomers to the county or from other parts of the county to the foothill areas. Thus prior social relations and kinship ties created a community of interest and action and a community with a strong basis for stable, if not richly variegated, social structure. If this type of rural settlement is economically questionable, it is still socially interesting.

It is thus possible to envision in the country the development of old age colonies or communities, rural areas where the middle-aged and old-aged have and can develop social groups and patterns of living consonant with their position in the life cycle.

These would represent noninstitutionalized group arrangements, an unplanned crescive growth. The significance or the extent of such a development cannot be gauged at present, but it is an interesting adjustment among age groups to which the sociologist has given little attention. The rural sociologist, however, has the opportunity to examine the likelihood of such developments in the various regions of the nation and in this way he can make a material contribution to the adjustment problems of older people.

H. Otto Dahlke and  
Harvey V. Stonecipher.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics,  
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

### MEASURING UNMET NEEDS FOR MEDICAL CARE: AN EXPERIMENT IN METHOD

#### Introduction and Statement of Problem

Several recent developments have emphasized the wide-spread dissatisfaction with present provisions in this country for such service as medical care, hospitalization, and dental care. These developments include the Wagner-Dingell-Murray Bill, President Truman's recommendation to Congress of a comprehensive compulsory medical care insurance program, and the American Medical Association's rather belated counter-proposal of a voluntary participation scheme.

Most studies of health care in the United States, including the study by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, the National Health Survey, and smaller localized studies, have been chiefly concerned with what is essentially *demand* for health care rather than *need* for such services. The same is true of the numerous studies giving information on expenditures for health services of various types—either as phases of more comprehensive budgetary studies, such as The Consumer Purchases Study, or as specialized health budget investigations. If we can assume that health

services, constituting, as they do, one of the necessities in any acceptable American standard of living, should have a distribution bearing some significant relationship to the distribution of need for such services—rather than demand—it becomes necessary to discover more precisely what the distribution of needs actually is.

Selective Service examination and rejection data showing the unflattering frequency of physical impairment and inadequacy among supposedly vigorous young Americans are cited by the critical to show by implication the needs for health care in the general population. The apologists for the status quo of American health services, on the other hand, maintain their data show consistent American superiority in the fields of health and medical services—attributed to the virtues of free enterprise in the vending of these services. How can the strength of these contentions be measured? How shall we know where the truth lies?

#### Development of New Approach

Not for some time to come will it be technically feasible, in view of the stringent

shortages of medical and hospital facilities, to make the comprehensive physical and laboratory examinations which modern medical science requires, if national sample studies of needs for health care are to be undertaken. Even when such studies become technically and financially possible, it will not be easy to persuade whole families at all economic levels, and in remote farming areas and villages as well as cities, to submit themselves to the requisite comprehensive examinations. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics recognized the need for simpler techniques in this field as a part of the broader problem of developing improved measures of levels and standards of living. During 1944 work was begun on a new type of approach directed toward the development of a feasible technique for measuring unmet needs for medical care.

This approach involves the use of a list of non-technical questions on health status and medical care which can be presented by lay interviewers to lay informants without embarrassment to either. The questions were selected and adapted from those comprising a relatively standard clinical history. Examples of the items selected are: Running ear or ears (watery, bloody, pus); unexplained nosebleeds (repeated); persistent pains in chest; repeated vomiting; hernia, "rupture," or wearing of truss. In an endeavor to avoid excessive bias due to errors of memory, and still to give adequate time for "exposure," the preceding 6 months were selected as the time-period to be covered.

The questions are designed to identify individuals having a high degree of probable need for medical care, and among these to determine whether they are receiving medical attention. For some of the symptoms or ailments reported as positive the only care required might be examination and diagnosis by a qualified medical practitioner. For others, extensive treatment, medication, hospitalization, or surgery might be required. But in any case the reported presence of any one of the items listed is assumed to necessitate medical care

at least to the extent of an adequate medical examination.

One of the first questions raised about the approach was this: how would results obtained by physicians using the schedule compare with those obtained by laymen? As a first attempt to throw light on this question, which involves checking simultaneously on reliability and validity, the methodological experiment reported below was carried out by the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station in consultation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the United States Public Health Service.

#### The North Carolina Experiment

As a first step, in July, 1945, a physician from the United States Public Health Service observed the first field use of the schedule in the course of about 10 interviews taken by a lay enumerator, a North Carolina State College graduate student in Rural Sociology. On the basis of this field experience, the schedule was revised and a set of instructions was prepared for guidance of enumerators.

Second, the area for the test, Warren County, North Carolina, was selected both because it was known to have a heavy burden of health care needs, and because of the keen interest shown by certain county officials in any effort which offered promise of contributing to a solution of these health problems.

Third, the specific neighborhoods in which the test was to be conducted were selected in consultation with persons thoroughly familiar with the county, such as the local representative of the State Department of Public Welfare and the County Public Health nurse. No attempt was made to interview a representative sample of the county since it was unnecessary for the purposes of the study. An effort was made, however, to obtain both white and Negro rural families representing a good range socio-economically.

Fourth, the schedule was taken on 41 families by the lay enumerator. The respondent in each case was the housewife. No interview was taken at households where,

for any reason, the housewife was not available. Respondents were spotted on a map, control data were copied on a set of duplicate schedules, and these were then turned over to the medical enumerator.

Fifth, one to three days after the original interviews, the same informants were interviewed by the physician using the duplicate set of schedules. Care was taken to assure that the doctor should have no knowledge at the time of his visit regarding the responses previously recorded by the lay enumerator. The medical enumerator, who was wearing the Public Health Service uniform, introduced himself as a "doctor," and explained that he was merely "checking

discarded. This left 40 usable family schedules, 20 white and 20 Negro, comprising 182 individuals, 83 white and 99 Negro. Elaborate statistical analysis of data based on this number of cases is hardly justified. Accordingly, only a few figures, thought to be most suggestive are here presented.

Table I shows the percentage of individuals, by race, by sex, for whom the records of the lay and medical enumerators agreed or disagreed as to positive or negative classification. The classification was "positive" if one or more of the symptoms or ailments on the schedule list was recorded as applying to a particular individual during any part of the preceding 6 months; it was

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE SYMPTOMS EXPERIMENTAL STUDY, BY SEX, RACE, AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN LAY AND MEDICAL ENUMERATORS, 40 FAMILIES IN WARREN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, AUGUST, 1945.

Race and Sex	Total	Agreement between lay and M.D. enumerators				Disagreement between lay and M.D. enumerators			
		Total Individuals		Layman positive and M.D. positive <sup>1</sup>	Layman negative and M.D. negative <sup>2</sup>	Total Individuals		Layman positive and M.D. negative	Layman negative and M.D. positive
		Number	Per cent	Number	Number	Number	Per cent	Number	Number
Total	182	144	79	106	38	38	21	26	12
Male	88	67	76	48	19	21	24	16	5
Female	94	77	82	58	19	17	18	10	7
White	83	65	78	45	20	18	22	14	4
Male	42	31	74	21	10	11	26	9	2
Female	41	34	83	24	10	7	17	5	2
Negro	99	79	80	61	18	20	20	12	8
Male	46	36	78	27	9	10	22	7	3
Female	53	43	81	34	9	10	19	5	5

<sup>1</sup> Classification of an individual was "positive" if one or more of the symptoms was present during any part of the study period.

<sup>2</sup> Classification was "negative" if none of the symptoms was present during any part of the study period.

up" on the results obtained previously. No refusals nor serious resistances of any kind were experienced during either set of interviews.

#### - Results Obtained

**Enumeration Methodology.** Since one interview with an elderly housewife was found to have been unduly influenced by the presence of her somewhat assertive daughter, who was absent during the repeat visit, the schedule for this household was

"negative" if none of the symptoms applied. It will be noted that agreement for the entire sample was about 4 times out of 5 (79 per cent). Agreement is closer regarding classification of females than males in either race. Where there is disagreement the lay enumerator records more positive classifications than does the doctor.

It must be kept in mind that disagreement reflects not only the absence of reliability between the two sets of records; it

reflects the physician's use of his professional skill in recording as medically significant some cases which the lay enumerator was not justified in recording as "positive" and in others discounting the verbal responses of his informants and thus coming out with a "negative" finding which the lay enumerator would have been compelled to record as "positive." Accordingly, the degree of agreement achieved seems remarkably high.

Regarding the informants themselves, the housewives, agreement between doctor and layman as to classification was even higher—36 out of 40, or 90 per cent, of which 33 were cases in which both interviewers recorded positive findings. Agreement was also higher for persons in families where the informant had completed 8 or more grades of school than in families where the schooling was less, the percentages being 84 and 75 respectively. Furthermore, agreement tended to increase with increasing age: under 15 years, 74 per cent; 15-29, 76; 30-44, 82; 45-59, 86; and 60 years and over, 85. Agreement was higher regarding members of farm owners' than of non-owners' families, 81 as compared with 74 per cent.

For both lay enumerator and doctor, the highest proportion of positive classifications was for informants (90 and 82 per cent respectively), lower for other persons present during the interview (73 and 70 per cent), and least for persons not present (65 and 56 per cent).

To test the influence of the sequence of asking the symptoms questions the pattern of interrogation was alternated: in about half of the interviews the entire list of questions was asked regarding *each* resident member of the family, one person at a time; in the remainder the respondent was asked whether for *any* resident member of the family the symptom or ailment was present or had been present during the period under study. Since the items were arranged in a column down the page the first method was called a "down" interview, the second an "across" interview. Agreement was highest, 88 per cent, when the

lay enumerator's interviews were "across" and the doctor's were "down" the page, and lowest, 71 per cent, when the methods were reversed. When both went across the page agreement was 79 per cent, and when both went down the page, 81 per cent. It is possible that the highest and lowest percentages of agreement were found when dissimilar patterns of questioning were used because of (a) the tendency for the lay enumerator to receive *fewer* positive responses to a given symptom when the question was asked regarding *all* family members lumped together, and because (b) the doctor tended to record *more* positive responses when *each* family member was considered separately in connection with each symptom of the entire list of questions. These opposed biases in one case offset each other, and thus brought the 88 per cent agreement; when they operated in opposite directions agreement was brought to the low of 71 per cent.

*Unmet Needs.* Up to this point we have not been concerned with enumerator agreement regarding the degree to which individuals have *unmet* needs for medical care. To get at this matter the 182 individuals were placed in four categories; 1-negative; 2-positive, no medical care (*unmet* medical need); 3-positive, with some items reported as receiving medical care, others not (*partly met* medical need); 4-positive, receiving medical care (*met* medical need).

Table II shows the distribution of cases of agreement and disagreement of various types between lay and medical enumerator.

On this basis 113, or 62 per cent of the 182 individuals fall in the same category for both lay and medical enumerators (numbers in italics) with respect to their medical needs. Since our concern is with *unmet* medical need (negative classification) while note that the two categories including unmet medical needs (2 and 3) yield 95 persons, or 52 per cent according to the lay, and 86 or 47 per cent according to the medical enumerator. The conventional statistical tests for the significance of the difference between these two percentages are not applicable because, as was indicated,

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE NORTH CAROLINA SYMPTOMS EXPERIMENTAL STUDY CLASSIFIED BY LAY ENUMERATOR'S RECORDS ON THE BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION BY MEDICAL ENUMERATOR'S RECORDS.

Lay Enumerator's Classification	Total	Medical Enumerator's Classification							
		1. No medical needs	2. Medical needs unmet	3. Medical needs partly met	4. Medical needs met	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	182	64	100	56	100	30	100	82	100
4. Medical needs: met	38	9	14	8	5	6	20	20	63
3. Medical needs: partly met	28	2	3	5	9	18	60	3	9
2. Medical needs: unmet	67	16	25	38	68	6	20	7	22
1. No medical needs	49	37	58	10	18	—	—	2	6

the two enumerators performed distinct functions. The difference of 5 per cent, however, seems so small as to constitute fairly good agreement.

When the classification based on the doctor's records is used as the norm we find the highest percentage of cases of agreement for the category of unmet medical needs, 68 per cent. The category of individuals having no need for medical care according to the doctor, yields 16 cases (25 per cent) as having unmet medical needs according to the layman. But this disparity is offset, for the sample as a whole, by the 10 cases (18 per cent) in which the layman's records showed no medical need (negative classification) while the doctor's records showed unmet medical need (positive symptoms not receiving medical attention).

In the preceding comparisons no consideration was given to agreement or disagreement in recording of specific items. For example, if the doctor's records showed a person to have had toothache without dental care, and no other positive symptoms, the case was classified as "unmet medical need." If on the layman's records the same person was not reported to have had toothache, but was reported to be suffering from persistent headaches without re-

ceiving medical care, and reported no other positive symptoms, the case was again classified as one of unmet medical need.

The third type of test of agreement, therefore, was made to check on item-by-item correspondence, agreement being defined as identical classification of an individual on a specific symptom by both layman and doctor into one of three categories, (a) no medical need, (b) unmet medical need, and (c) met medical need. This test yielded a range of 100 per cent agreement, every individual being reported negative by both enumerators on "Coughing up blood" to 88 per cent agreement on "Persistent pains in the joints." For every item most of the agreement is due, as might be expected for specific symptoms of the severity here called for, to negative findings by both enumerators.

#### Interpretation and Implications

In view of the main objective of the experiment—a determination of the degree of agreement between a lay enumerator's and a medical enumerator's measurement of unmet medical needs in a sample study—too much weight should not be given to the comparisons based on particular items, or even comparisons involving identification of individuals. Individual diagnosis was

neither an objective nor a contemplated result of this approach. It is recognized that the items included in the schedule constitute only a very small proportion of the significant questions which could possibly have been asked. For this reason the results should probably be regarded as conservative measures of unmet needs for medical care. This position seems sound even though the findings show, where the two enumerator's records differed, the medical enumerator reported smaller proportions of positive findings where the layman's findings were negative, and higher proportions of negative findings where the layman's findings were positive.

The findings in this study regarding need for medical care cannot be considered as measures applying to the entire county in which the sample was obtained, or to any larger area. In order to secure meaningful measures, therefore, it will be necessary to undertake additional studies with properly controlled samples.

In order to determine whether further use of the symptoms approach was justified on the basis of the findings in the North Carolina test study, a conference was held in Washington, D. C. on September 12, 1945. Persons participating in the conference included representatives of the North Carolina Experiment Station, the Department of Agriculture, the United States Public Health Service, and the Department of Labor. In the course of the sessions, considerable discussion arose because of the failure of agreement between the two enumerators with regard to the results obtained on specific symptoms of particular individuals. It was pointed out, however, that individual diagnosis was not expected to be a possibility on the basis of this approach. Rather the objective and the possibility involved only measurement —by population segments—for the purpose of determining levels of unmet needs within groups and for comparing groups in this respect. After the results of the study had been presented and discussed, consensus was reached on the following points:

(1) The field test, although not con-

clusive on all aspects of the problem, showed enough promise clearly to justify further work.

(2) On the assumption that the objective was to develop a reliable and valid measure of one type of unmet need for medical care —chronic ailments and impairments—the North Carolina experiment was encouraging.

(3) The tabulations prepared prior to the conference did not throw sufficient light on some of the factors causing disagreement between the findings on specific symptoms as reported by the lay enumerator and the M.D. and, therefore, further analysis of the data should be made.

(4) Even though the symptoms approach at its present stage of development was not a perfect method for measuring the need for medical care it was generally agreed that it might become a valuable addition to other methods conventionally used, such as mortality and morbidity rates, ratios of population to doctors, dentists, hospital beds, etc., none of which taken alone can be regarded as adequate.

(5) The symptoms schedule, therefore, constitutes a valuable additional approach which justifies field use in its present form or in a slightly modified form (a) as a basis for further methodological experimentation and (b) as a useful measure of unmet medical need which supplements the more conventional measures.

#### Future Use of the Symptoms Approach

A few words can be added regarding the present status of planned and current research employing this approach. A study incorporating the approach has been made in Colquitt County, Georgia; at the present time field work has been completed. In Mississippi an exploratory one-county study is being made looking toward the possibility of undertaking a state-wide sample study. Experimental work which makes use of this approach has begun in Washington. A Virginia study of living conditions as related to land classes may utilize the symptoms page. Plans are being worked out for validation of the approach in a

Michigan study, the objective being to compare for a small sample verbal responses on the symptoms questions with the results of medical and dental examinations, laboratory tests, and X-ray photographs. Favorable interest in the approach has also been indicated in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Montana, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. When exploratory work has sufficiently clearly indicated the possibilities and the limitations

of the approach, means may be found to use it on a nation-wide sample basis.

Edgar A. Schuler.

Bureau of Agri. Econ.,  
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Selz C. Mayo.

N. C. State College.

Henry B. Makover, M.D.  
Chief of Health Services Division,  
Labor Branch, P.M.A.,  
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

## CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited By Conrad Taeuber†*

### Rural Communities in Time of War

*The Valley Community in Rabun County, Georgia.* By Frank D. Alexander.

*A study of Ryder, North Dakota.* By A. H. Anderson.

*Shelley, Idaho.* By H. Otto Dahlke.

*Rushmore, village centered community in the Cornbelt.* By Nat T. Frame.

*Watson, Arkansas.* By T. Wilson Longmore.

*A study of Beaver Crossing, Nebraska* By Lawrence B. Lyall.

*The Massachusetts hill towns in wartime.* By E. J. Niederfrank.

*Roby, Texas.* By Herbert Pryor and Theo L. Vaughan.

These brief documents report on eight of twelve projected studies by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, under the direction of Carl C. Taylor, to ascertain the effects of the war on rural communities. Each of the eight communities is located in one of the 71 counties that serve the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as laboratories for research into rural culture.

Answers were sought to two questions: (1) What changes have occurred in the community pattern of organization and in the function of each organization and institution? (2) What new organizations have come into being during the war, what are the functions performed by each, and what have been their effect in changing old patterns of organization?

The search for answers was guided by a common outline of types of data to be collected and analyzed. Aspects of the community that were examined include the population, the farm and village economy, the family, the schools, the churches, voluntary groups and organizations, informal activities, salvage drives, and other war programs.

Not all of the reports give information about the methods employed. But apparently the historical and background materials were derived from documentary sources supplemented by interviews with older residents; data on changes during the war and on the effects of these changes (when effects were sought) were collected by attendance at meetings and by interviews with a representative sample of both village and farm families as well as with heads of organizations, teachers, and institutional personnel. Newspapers and organization records were also used and, in some cases, written statements prepared by school children. Wherever possible quantitative measures of changes were used.

No brief summary of the findings can be given here except the obvious and expected one that all of the communities changed under the impact of war but that changes varied in extent and character, in depth and ephemerality. These variations suggest the need for a careful comparative summary which would discover what divergences in the nature and location of the several communities are, or seem to be, associated with particular organizational and institutional adjustments to the impact of the war. But a summary of that kind cannot be made on the basis of the present reports. They differ too widely in outline and content. Only three of them give fairly complete tabular summaries of the statistical data, and the tables in these three differ considerably in content, construction, and arrangement. It is to be hoped that the project will not end with the publication of these discrete reports, but will go on to the task of comparative analysis. Only such analysis will yield useful knowledge of the factors determining institutional or other adjustments to new elements in the group situation.

Two or three observations about the quality of the reports, considered as separ-

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

ate case studies, may have some constructive value.

Notwithstanding the common planning that must have gone into this project, the reports show wide and important differences among the authors as to what constitutes an adequate description and evaluation, in objective terms, of processes of social change. Some concern themselves almost exclusively with the surface aspects of change—disturbances in the age and sex structure of the population, labor shortages, increased turnover in teaching staffs, changes in schedules or attendance of organizations, etc. Inquiry does not always penetrate to the deeper-lying aspects of these changes. It doesn't discover what goes on within the modified framework of community activities or get at new interests, orientations, and attitudes, new or revamped objectives of organizations and institutions. Some of the authors, on the other hand, take a deeper and longer view. One wonders, after reading all eight reports, to what extent divergent inferences as to the degree and importance of changes may have resulted from the different perspectives of the students rather than from differences in the communities studied.

The historical and background material which each study carries in an introductory section is often discursive. It is the kind of information that might be collected for a history of the community in the ordinary sense without reference to a nicely defined problem. The only reason, aside from definition, for including facts pertaining to the history or prior character of any of these communities is to provide a basis for understanding reactions to the impact of the war. Inclusion of every such fact must be justified by the author himself in the analytical use he makes of it. In most of the studies, however, this is not done. One conspicuous exception—and one of two outstanding studies in most respects—is Longmore's report where a preliminary "thumbnail sketch" of Watson, Arkansas, occupies a scant page, a third of which is given to a diagram of the "social pyramid." Other background material is brought in only

when it can help toward an understanding of a wartime change and then as part of the discussion of that particular change. This is one of the most insightful and illuminating studies in the group.

Niederfrank's report on the Massachusetts Hill Communities, the other outstanding study, also avoids most of the criticisms that have been stated above. Its author had a clear conception of his problem and stuck to it. He does not present a mass of irrelevant background facts nor a large number of discrete surface changes that happened to occur (or happened not to occur) during wartime. He concerns himself with changes brought by the war situation. He studies his communities not as isolated, relatively self-contained entities, but in relation to the "large non-local" forces and agencies operating in a larger universe of which they are functional parts. Changes are examined within this frame of reference. The factors that determine the effects—and the effectiveness—of these forces and agencies are assessed; the implications of the findings are explored. In consequence, some principles of general applicability are pointed up, and some hypotheses emerge that may guide—tentatively—efforts to intervene in the processes of social change. This somewhat statesmanlike quality of the study does not diminish, but enlarges, its scientific value.

Many of the other reports embody some of these virtues. For the further development of research of the sort here undertaken, they should be encouraged.

CLYDE W. HART.

Washington, D. C.

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Joseph A. Geddes and Carmen D. Fredrickson, *Utah housing in its group and community aspects*, Utah Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 321, 90 pp. Logan, Aug., 1945.

According to the authors the objective of this study was "to ascertain housing and home-convenience conditions among the more important rural groups of Utah." The publication, however, does this and considerably more.

Utah housing and household conveniences are compared with those of the other States on the basis of 1940 Census data. The counties of Utah, likewise, are compared with respect to household conveniences.

The study proper is an analysis of 17 housing and other level-of-living items based mainly on schedule interviews taken "by field workers during the last two weeks of each of the years 1938, 1939 and 1940." The four communities studied were selected to represent the four principal types of development which have come to characterize rural communities in Utah. In addition to inter-community comparisons the analysis includes treatments of nonfarm families by nine occupational categories and farm families by place of residence: farm, village, and "edge-of-village." The implications of this study for village and small town planning are presented. Summary and conclusions, an appendix on early Mormon urban and village planning, and an appendix of tables complete the bulletin. Twenty-five tables and 34 figures (maps, charts and photographs of houses) are presented.

Although this is an attractive bulletin and contains much that is commendable it suffers from certain weaknesses. First, the statement on methodology is hardly adequate. Neither schedules nor instructions used are presented. It is stated that every home was visited, but no return visits were made to pick up absentees. The method for determining the area in which "every home" was to be visited is not presented.

Second, the authors have attempted to derive significant interpretations from very small numbers of cases. To illustrate, it is stated that "The only nonfarm group at Mendon in which 100 per cent does not have radios is the domestic, which has 50 per cent." The base for this percentage is two cases. Such procedure, unfortunately, reflects no credit on sociological research.

Third, planning recommendations are made on the basis of questionable interpretations of the data. The authors state, "This study finds that edge-of-village families have better houses and more satisfactory

conveniences than farm dwellers in all four villages studied." Let us disregard the fact that the comparisons are based on too few cases to warrant percentages carried to one decimal point. Still the reader cannot help doubting the logic of attributing variance in possession of such items as automobile, built during last 10 years, separate living room, and reproduction value over \$1,500, primarily to location of dwelling-inside, outside, or at edge of village.

On the other hand, such items as cement walks, electric lights, piped water, and sewerage connection are certainly more easily attainable by village and edge-of-village dwellers, than by open country dwellers, but there is no obvious explanation for edge-of-villagers to be better off in these respects than villagers.

There is pressing need for research which will contribute to sound social planning. But in drawing planning inferences from such research it must be remembered that correlation is not the same as causation.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

#### Population

The Tariff Commission Report on *The economy of Puerto Rico*<sup>1</sup> states in part: "A lowering of the birth rate in Puerto Rico, even if there were no serious obstacles in the way of achieving it, could not immediately be an important factor in checking the growth of the Island's population, much less in reducing its size. . . . The most discernible present tendencies are a fairly stationary high birth rate, a declining death rate, and a steadily rising population growth.

"Puerto Rico's resources and productive capacity afford no great promise of ever being able to satisfactorily support a population of over 2 million that is increasing at the rate of well over 100 per day. But its resources and prospective increase in

<sup>1</sup> United States Tariff Commission. *The economy of Puerto Rico*. 67 pp. Washington, D. C. Mar., 1946.

productive capacity might be able to support adequately a population of, say, half that size. However, large-scale emigration from the Island, amounting to between 750,000 to 1,000,000 persons would not of itself assure a solution of the Island's major economic problems, but would merely make a solution possible. . . ."

In *Population trends in Minnesota*<sup>4</sup> Nelson and Clampitt summarize population trends in the State from 1850, when the Census reported some 6,000 residents to 1940 when the total was almost 2.8 million. Rates of natural increase, ethnic composition of the population, rural-urban distribution and distribution of the farm population by type of farming areas are presented. Age and sex distribution and rural-urban differences in age distribution are summarized. Nineteen maps and graphs are used, and a series of appendix tables present data for each of the counties.

A study of *The Negro population of Kentucky*<sup>5</sup> found that Negroes were only a small part of Kentucky's total population in 1940. "They were principally urban-dwellers. Next in importance as a place of residence was the rural nonfarm community. Farm communities had fewest Negroes. Since 1850, the Negro population has been growing steadily smaller as a part of the state's total population. Furthermore, there has been a decrease in the total number of Negroes in the state. . . . Since 1870 the average age of the Kentucky Negro population has been rising. This has been due to a decrease in fertility, and to out-of-state migration of people in the younger age-groups; another factor incidentally which must have influenced fertility."

<sup>4</sup> Lowry Nelson and Hazel Clampitt. *Population trends in Minnesota, 1940*. Minn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 387. 39 pp. St. Paul. June, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Howard W. Beers and Catherine P. Heflin. *The Negro population of Kentucky*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 481. 35 pp. Lexington. Jan., 1946.

### Settlement

In *Selecting Arizona settlers*,<sup>6</sup> Tetreau reviews the criteria and techniques of settler selection which have been used by organizations and agencies concerned with the selection of settlers: Mormon pioneers, Homestead Entrymen, settlers on Reclamation Projects, settlers on Rural Resettlement Projects, those on State Land Settlements and the private selection for apprenticeship on Litchfield farms. Among other conclusions Tetreau writes: "The heart of settler selection is to arrive at ways and means of spotting the applicant who will be most likely to stay with the project, pay his obligations, and help develop a going community. No one criterion or method is sufficient, yet nothing is gained by multiplying tests, interviews, references and questionnaires. . . . The object of selection is not to deny the settler the right to make mistakes and find his place in the social order in his own way and in his own good time. . . . Selection of settlers is aimed at reducing the extent of the burden of failures in farm settlements."

### Tenure

*Keeping the farm in the family*<sup>7</sup> is a study of ownership processes in a low tenancy area of eastern Wisconsin. A small area, including 84 homesteads was selected, and in this area 58 farm operators were interviewed to learn from each "(1) his success in acquiring a farm, including debt experience; (2) his occupational history both in farming and elsewhere; (3) the history of his family in the area; (4) the terms under which he had acquired the farm; (5) arrangements with parents and family if the operator was on a family farm; (6) the educational program of the family, and similar questions." Only 8 of the farmers interviewed were tenants, all

<sup>6</sup> E. D. Tetreau. *Selecting Arizona settlers*. Ariz. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 196. 28 pp. Tucson, Feb., 1945.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth H. Parsons and Eliot O. Waples. *Keeping the farm in the family*. Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 157. 53 pp. Madison. Sept., 1945.

the others were owners. Most of the owners had acquired farms from their parents or through help from parents. Typically the transfer was of a farm as a going concern from living parents. Farmers on an average became owners at the age of 27. Farms are transferred on more favorable terms within the family than with outsiders. Bonds of maintenance or bonds of support were used on about one-fifth of the farms in the area. Family cooperation and an attachment to the land and to agriculture are pronounced. Less than a fifth of present owner-operators had ever been tenants—the typical pattern was to pass directly from "working with parents" to ownership.

#### Rural Health

*Illness in rural Missouri*<sup>\*</sup> is the first in a series of reports on illness and the use of medical and health facilities in five Missouri counties during the years 1939-42. The survey covered 1,544 households, about 10 per cent of the rural-farm population in Lewis, Ray, Franklin, Dallas and New Madrid Counties. Illness was defined as disability which kept an individual from his usual activities for one or more days. During the survey year, 44 per cent of all persons were ill, representing 78 per cent of the households. Four-fifths of the total days of illness occurred in less than one-third of the households. The average length of all illnesses was 111 days; many persons had been ill one year or more and 16 per cent had been ill three months or longer. The high average duration of illness and the high average number of days ill resulted from the large amount of chronic illness. High illness rates were associated with households (1) in agriculturally poor and relatively isolated localities, (2) with the lowest incomes, (3) of smaller size, with few children and a large proportion of older persons. Chronic illness was most prevalent among persons over 40 years of age in the lower income groups. The au-

thors conclude that exposure to infection and lack of proper treatment of defects during youth are important causes of chronic illness in later life.

#### Miscellaneous

The semi-annual reports covering activities of the War Relocation Authority<sup>†</sup> during 1945 have just become available. Together they give a picture of the steps taken to demobilize the Relocation Centers and to resettle the evacuees who had been housed there.

*A study of the values of living and working in the rural environment*<sup>‡</sup> is the subject of a recent bulletin, published in two parts, at Cornell University. Part I is a description of the methods used in the construction of scales for measuring opinions toward ten major aspects of living and working in rural areas, with instructions as to how the scales may be used. The ten phases of rural living covered are: (1) health, (2) farming as enjoyable work, (3) necessary education for life, (4) earning a satisfactory living as a farmer, (5) wholesome recreation and leisure, (6) aesthetically pleasing experience, (7) a sociable life as a community member, (8) obtaining the facilities for a good level of living, (9) wholesome family living, (10) proper rearing of children.

Part II gives the reactions of 260 Cornell University students, 90 per cent young women, to the opinion scales described in Part I. Most of the students had always lived in urban places so that their opinions are not the result of direct experience with rural living or farm work. The young women believe that rural environment pro-

<sup>\*</sup> War Relocation Authority. *Semi-Annual Report, January 1 to June 30, 1945.* 61 pp. *Semi-Annual Report, July 1 to December 31, 1945.* 41 pp. Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

<sup>†</sup> W. A. Anderson. *A study of the values of living and working in the rural environment. Part I—The construction of rural living opinion scales.* Mimeo. Bul. 18. 44 pp. Part II—*The opinions of young women university students.* Mimeo. Bul. 19. 23 pp. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Ithaca. Feb., 1946.

\* Harold F. Kaufman and Warren W. Morse. *Illness in rural Missouri.* Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 391. 55 pp. Series in Rural Health No. 1. Columbia. Aug., 1945.

vides: (1) conditions favorable to the promotion of health and in this regard is better than the urban environment, (2) aesthetically pleasing experiences, (3) excellent opportunity for carrying on a sociable life as a community member, (4) facilities for a good level of living, (5) advantages for the rearing of children. They do not think that: (1) farming is enjoyable work, (2) the rural environment is the place for obtaining the necessary education for life, (3) the rural environment is a good place for earning a satisfactory living by farming, (4) the rural environment provides better possibilities for wholesome family life than are available elsewhere. They are about equally divided in their opinion of the rural environment as a place for enjoyable wholesome recreation and leisure. The results show that the young women seem to be slightly more favorable than unfavorable to living in rural areas.

In summarizing the work of the Conference on *The contribution of Extension methods and techniques toward the rehabilitation of war-torn countries*\* held in Washington, D. C., September 19-22, 1944, Edmund deS. Brunner says: "Facing then the farmers of the whole world with all their dissimilarities, the Conference stressed one guidepost for action from the first. No program can succeed, no method or technique can get the desired results, when not in harmony with the culture of the people whom the extension worker would reach. This culture consists of the habitual and systematized ways by which people make a living, of the social organizations through which they cooperate to achieve their mutual desires and objectives, of the attitudes, the faiths, and the sanctioned ways of life. The accepted ways of communication are a part of the culture, the understanding of which is indispensable to the extension worker whose whole job is to communicate

a more excellent way. Communication moreover must be a two-way process if it is to succeed. The teacher of adults can always learn from the taught. If the channels are not two-way the very ideal and practice of democracy is endangered. Only the dictator fears to listen to the voice of the people. This culture, moreover, is not only national or regional, it is also local and intimate, with an infinite variety of expression. For the national culture, as well as the great social and economic forces that sweep across the world, are experienced chiefly, and, for many, only in their home communities, and each of these single communities makes its own slight adaptation and contribution to the national culture, the world forces. . . . Any programs, we agree, must meet the felt needs of the people, but we must recognize that one of the chief functions of extension leadership is to help bring people to our awareness of their needs, both immediate and long-time. Thus extension facilitates change and helps people to adjust to the changes forced from outside by new inventions, changes in markets, political developments. . . . Unless we apply that which we have learned and know in these most vital and more difficult areas, we have lost one of the great potentialities of extension—and worse, we have lost our chance where we are, by our leadership of rural people, to help achieve the deep desire of all decent men for a fair, just, enduring peace. Science has served with unstinting effectiveness in war. Our job in the rural world is to make it serve gloriously in and for peace."

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\* U. S. Dept. Agr. Extension Service and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Conference Report on *The contribution of Extension methods and techniques toward the rehabilitation of war-torn countries*. 239 pp. Wash., D. C. Oct., 1945.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Edited By Howard W. Beers*

*Brazil: People and Institutions.* By T. Lynn Smith. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. xxiv + 843. \$6.50.

Probably no more important rural sociological book has appeared since Zimmerman and Sorokin gave American rural sociology, a discipline which had previously borne the accusation of narrow provincialism devoid of a meaningful theoretical frame of reference, its first schematic treatment in a world setting. To the reviewer's knowledge no book carries more sociological information about Brazil, but more important for the general reader is the fact that few Americans can read the book without learning much about the United States. This is because most of the graphic materials and well written analyses are organized by sections and chapters which follow the scheme of the author's earlier book *The Sociology of Rural Life* and make detailed comparisons between Brazil and the United States. The book is recommended as a reference or companion volume to be used with the main text in American rural sociology classes.

Although the author does not resort to over-simplification to establish leitmotivs or major themes with which to characterize Brazilian life, certain aspects of Brazilian culture stand out in the book. In view of the emphasis the author gives these features he must have considered them very important. Among those which he appears to consider significant are the following:

1. *Falta de braços* or shortage of labor relative to other resources and especially for the large estates is a theme which functioned as a powerful factor in determining land use, immigration and other policies.
2. Fire agriculture by which most of the land is prepared for a few years of cultivation before letting it grow back into woods. In contrast to plow culture

this practice which requires felling of trees, cutting of brush, burning, building of fences, and so forth, keeps the people on the move and uses all resources lavishly. The author is very much opposed to fire agriculture. He considers it a sort of primitive heritage from the Indians.

3. Related to fire agriculture is the tendency to "occupy" land rather than "settle" it. Real roots and settled existence are less prevalent in Brazil than in the United States.
4. The overwhelming importance of the large estate during the first 3 or 4 centuries in most areas in which the Portuguese established colonies. This type of agricultural enterprise became the most important form even though the family peasant farm economy prevailed in Portugal.
5. Social stratification outside of the area of South Brazil where the family farm prevails is of such nature that "a very small number of people have at their disposal the means of satisfying every whim. Luxurious living at its acme!" (p. 96) However, the masses live in abject poverty.
6. Over and over the tremendous importance of the family farm economy of the German, Polish and Italian colonists in South Brazil is stressed. These people really "settled" the land and because of their industry, thrift, and fertility are producing a middle class for Brazil and spreading a desirable land tenure system. "Future historians may well decide that the establishment of a class of small farmers in parts of the Brazilian territory was the most important development in the New World during the last half of the nineteenth century." (p. 530)
7. The "bleaching of the population," a process whereby whites and Negroes

and whites and Indians and various combinations of these mixed so rapidly both within and outside of wedlock, that a new race is in the process of development. The "bleaching" is augmented by the upper class white man's extramarital relations with lower-class women." (p. 174)

8. Rurality appears again and again as a theme. By our standards from 80 to 85 per cent of Brazil's population is rural.

Other facts which will indicate to the reader the nature of the publication are the following:

1. Differing from the United States, the Brazilian upper classes have as great fertility as the lower classes.
2. Although Portugal is a country in which farmers live in nucleated villages, Brazil, except for laborers' villages on some large estates, is the home of the isolated holding and the line village. The latter is more common in Brazil than any other country with the possible exception of France. Nevertheless, the settlement pattern of Brazil resembles that of the United States more than that of any other large country.
3. The trade center community and neighborhoods clustered about it as it exists in southern United States is more typical of Brazil than of Spanish speaking countries. In these groupings race is less important and the Church more important in Brazil than in the United States. However, the Church is less strong than in Spanish speaking countries.
4. Brazilian towns, differing from towns in the United States, do not incorporate, thus separating themselves from the countryside as "urban cists."
5. Less than two-fifths of Brazil's child population is in school.
6. The "cultural landscape of Brazil is adjusted to natural phenomena, and not to the man-made degrees of latitude and longitude." (p. 412) Thus in

land division and in many other respects Brazil resembles the southern United States.

7. In the United States approximately 1 out of every 2 children born on the farm migrates to the city. In Brazil this proportion is 1 out of 10 or 15.
8. It is calculated that since 1890 "natural increase has been responsible for nine tenths . . . of Brazil's population growth and that only 9.5 per cent of the nation's increase of population . . . may be attributed to migration." (p. 159)
9. During the half century since 1890, Brazil's increase in population of 192 per cent is nearly four times that of the United States (52 per cent), and "the springs of Brazil's population increase still retain their vitality while those of the United States have dried up to the point where they are barely sufficient to maintain a stationary population." (p. 135)
10. The death rate in Brazil is estimated as double that of the United States.

In discussing colonization and population policy the author makes the following significant statement: "The amount of \$1,000,000 spent on a campaign to reduce infant mortality, mainly on educating mothers about the care and feeding of children, probably would increase Brazil's population far more than a similar amount expended for the subsidization of immigration." (p. 789) Since most Latin American countries are now planning large colonization projects to drain off population from Europe and elsewhere, this proposal seems very important.

The author's belief that fire agriculture will decrease in importance in Brazil will probably be substantiated, particularly in the area of lower precipitation and cooler temperatures. However, it should be recognized that the "strip and burn" system, as it is frequently called, prevails throughout the tropical rain forests of the world. For this reason the reviewer believes the author places too much blame upon the na-

tives for contaminating the European settlers with "fire agriculture" and too much hope is raised for its disappearance in the rain forests.

Heavy rainfall and high temperatures which wash out and decompose the elements necessary for plant growth dictate a vegetative as distinct from plow culture. However, in order to have rice, mandioca, corn or other similar crops the strip and burn system will be used until cheaper methods of developing composts to furnish humus and until the population is heavy enough to make chemical fertilizer and lime applications feasible. A ten year rotation in the rain forests furnishes minerals through the burnt ashes and humus through the decaying of plant matter gathered during the 9 years in trees. In several tropical areas methods of supplying these elements without the "strip and burn system" have been developed but such methods are not suitable where land and the value of products are cheap.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS.

Michigan State College.

*Earthbound China*. By Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chih-I Chang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xviii + 319.  
\$3.75.

*Earthbound China* is an extremely welcome addition to the flow of community studies that has emerged from China in recent years. Persons familiar with Fei's *Peasant Life in China* will know something of what they may expect. *Earthbound China* is much more than another community study. It is an outstanding example of the use of "type" cases, following the approach commonly associated with Malinowski, under whom Fei studied. *Earthbound China* is a study of three villages in Yunnan, in China's Southwest. The villages are "typed" on the basis of the interrelations in the land systems. They may be most advantageously read with the fourth "type" case in mind also—that is, the Kiangsu village described in *Peasant Life in China*. The three Yunnan communities were given

fictional names. In Luts'un most of the land-owners are occupants with small holdings; the landlords are collective owners of clan and temple lands. In Yits'un a few large landowners hold land in other villages, the remainder are small owner-occupants and there are no tenants. In Yuts'un tenants are numerous; the big owners live in nearby towns. The village in Kiangsu represented a more advanced stage of absentee ownership of land, a situation following upon the decline in rural industry; but the absentee owners in this case have claim only on the "subsoil", making for a type of tenancy quite different from what we know in the United States.

*Earthbound China* opens up new insights into Chinese rural economy, its common elements and its variations, its responses to western influences as reflected in industrialization and the new education. It does so not merely in terms of the land question, but through that connecting thread in other terms as well. The interpretation of the land systems and their place in the lives of the inhabitants has involved an exceptionally keen analysis of social and economic mobility within each of these village communities, an allied analysis of the role of family and clan in the village economy, an examination of non-agricultural sources of income and of the relation of these to the foundation agricultural economy. All of these insights are provided not merely as static cross-sections, but as part of a changing scene.

It is no accident that the "typing" of these communities in terms of the land systems should lead to such a full picture of the lives of the people. The key is given in the title adjective, "earthbound". On page after page, the grip of the land on the destinies of the villagers is ever-present. The pull is dramatized with the impact of the new forces, and it is seen to be inseparably cultural and economic. But this does not mean that Fei and Chang predetermined their conclusions in the framing of their problem. Although the land system was used as the unifying core in making comparisons among the communities, the au-

thors looked searchingly into the factors that might reasonably explain both the common elements and the differences in the role of the land in the three villages. Their emphasis was mainly on the role of rural industry, the limitation of alternative economic opportunity, and the pressure of population, but the pattern of the operation of these forces showed marked variations.

The year 1945 saw publication in English of another able study of a rural Chinese community which provides a useful basis for comparison with *Earthbound China*. This is Martin C. Yang's *A Chinese Village*, an analysis of the village of Shantung in which the author grew up. The structure of the book is based on the analysis of the functioning of groups, starting from the primary group and moving out to wider units. *A Chinese Village* and *Earthbound China* are mutually supporting and complementary in content. We cannot take space here to develop the nature of that content in detail, but of more general interest are the broader implications of the contrasts of methodology and of the procedure involved in the selection of the research problem in community studies.

*A Chinese Village* is so organized as to give a more balanced perspective on the life of the villagers at the time of the study. For the same reason it may seem to be less committed in advance to any particular conclusion, although the framework of the study again sets the stage for the concluding thesis of the predominant importance of the primary group. The material is not presented in as integrated a manner as that in *Earthbound China*; analytically it is less penetrating. Yang has not made much effort to see his village in dynamic perspective, although the structure of his book did not preclude such emphasis. *A Chinese Village* is nevertheless a living scene in its objectively personal portrayal of the lives of the people. By contrast, the people of the three villages of Yunnan are analytical sectors of men.

*Earthbound China* is the more mature piece of work. It is not easy to tell whether

its advantages reflect the maturity of the authors primarily or their basic approach and method. At any rate, selection of a unifying element (the land system) that is centrally and functionally integrated with the entire society introduces an initial predisposition toward a more analytical treatment of interrelationships. The emphasis on the economic aspects of the rural society further simplifies the task. Starting with a limited and well focussed problem, the writers are able to draw their conclusions in relatively bold lines and colors. The finished product leaves the reader with something more to "chew on."

It is a pleasure to commend *Earthbound China* to social scientists in the United States, whether or not they are particularly interested in China. Its significance extends far beyond the bounds of the little villages of Yunnan.

Fei and Chang did their work on the Yunnan villages as part of the general research program of the Yenching-Yunnan Station for Sociological Research, successor of the sociological research staff of the refugee Yenching University in combination with the sociology department of National Yunnan University. The Yenching group had initiated a series of community studies beginning in the early thirties, only a part of which are available in English and some of which have not been published even in Chinese. Their work has been of consistently high level, including some unpublished manuscripts that the reviewer has had the good fortune to see. We may look for important accessions to the literature from this group in the near future.

MARY JEAN BOWMAN.

Lexington, Kentucky.

*Iran*. By William S. Haas. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. vii + 273. \$3.50.

The author of *Iran* was Advisor to the Persian Ministry of Education under the recently abdicated monarch, Reza Shah. In nine chapters he has made an admirable attempt to present and interpret a picture

of the social, psychological, economic and political areas of Persian life in the light of the country's history and her ethnic and geographic make-up.

Iran is a country of great diversity. Her land ranges from mountain to plateau, from lush fertility to barren desert, and she is said to have seven climates, including extremes. Her people match the terrain and the climate in variety, differing widely as to origin and culture. The greatest contrast is between nomadic tribes, with great diversity among themselves, and city dwellers noted for their exquisite craftsmanship and, in times past, scholarship. Difficulties of getting unity out of such diversity are obvious. Any semblance of unity has been due to sheer despotic rule, the only form of government Iran has ever known.

Iran's present predicament is not new to her, but is a part of an old pattern of foreign invasion and domination, inevitable because of her important, but too often tragic, location at the crossroads and vantage point of many nations. Occasionally she has reversed the action and has turned to business of conquest herself, and with success.

Out of her history has grown the individualism of her people. With the breakdown of organization during anarchy and its suppression or artificiality under despots, the individual has been forced to rely on himself. The Persian's attitude of fatalism toward life is due to the continuous instability and uncertainty to which he and his fathers have been subjected. Out of these same conditions arose his propensity for creating and tempering religions.

Although her reputation in the Western World has been based upon the products of her cities, Iran is essentially an agricultural country. Her sedentary rural population is characterized by large landholders and presents many problems, such as a low standard of living, worn-out soil, lack of irrigation facilities, and hence uncultivated land whose products are sorely needed. At

present there is little chance for reform in the sense of a more equal distribution of land, for the peasant is not equipped to handle the difficulties that exist. Agricultural education and the cooperatives, working together may be able to ameliorate this aspect of the rural problem. By borrowing from the Agricultural Bank, some farmers may be able to build up their land and improve or expand their irrigation systems, but loans are available only to those farmers whose land is registered with the government. This includes about one-fifth of the total.

Since 1925, long strides have been taken in the direction of unifying Iran and transforming her into a westernized, modern nation by the dictatorial Reza Shah, who arose from the ranks of the military to the ruling position. The production system has been modified by the introduction of industrialization, and Reza Shah has hammered away steadily at all the important institutions. The hands of the clergy have been detached from area after area of Persian life. Elementary education has been made free and compulsory and a whole new school system similar to that of the West has been established. Viewing the low status of women as a hindrance to educational progress, the monarch banished the veil, symbol of seclusion and of polygamy, and set about to change the family system by discouraging polygamy and giving women legal rights in marriage clauses.

The book is concluded on an optimistic note. It is the author's belief that the revolution begun by Reza Shah will continue, that Persian individualism will persist and a democracy within the frame of a monarchy will evolve. Russia will be too much concerned with her own development to further her expansion. While her progress has been interrupted by Allied occupation, Iran will derive from it some things that may facilitate her development.

CATHERINE P. HEFLIN.  
Cornell University.

*Economic Progress and Social Security.* By  
A. G. B. Fisher. New York: The Mac-  
Millan Company, 1946. Pp. xii + 362.  
\$5.00.

This book is essentially a treatise on the conditions necessary for an expanding economy, whether local, national, or world-wide. The theme that unifies a wide-ranging analysis is that a large measure of security in the economic sphere can be achieved only by indirection. That is, both economic expansion and individual security may be gained if primary attention is paid to the former. Emphasis on security in the sense of maintenance of employment in given jobs, or a given allocation of resources and capital, leads to rigidities that may defeat both security and expansion.

Professor Fisher thus poses and disposes of a well-loved dilemma, that between security and progress. As an economist he uses the latter term without the squeamishness sociologists have come to feel for its looser extensions in other fields. Economic progress consists simply in rising average income levels, or in the expansion of production that makes such a goal possible. The author does not think social values or types of civilization unimportant, but quite reasonably assumes that their benefits can be achieved by only a very limited number of people if poverty is widespread. (The fact of the matter is that most of the lovers of peasants think more highly of other people's poverty than do those most directly concerned.)

Once having stated the thesis that exclusive emphasis on security is self-defeating, the author briefly reviews the course of economic expansion in the familiar terms of shifts from primary to secondary and tertiary production. He points out that this broadens the range of occupational and investment choices, as no large economy gives up the production of raw materials and the fabrication of goods. Here one misses a reference to the work of Colin Clark, who may be a late comer in the use of the terminology, but whose empirical studies are at least relevant to Fisher's

argument. The remainder of the analysis consists of identifying the obstacles and rigidities that prevent expansion, examining proposals for their elimination, and broadening the scope of the problem to include national and international adjustments.

The analysis of the means for aiding economic expansion is by no means naive. It recognizes that change always adversely affects some interests. Structural rigidities may be found in both capital and labor (including, of course, management). The author perhaps under-emphasizes the rigidities introduced by the monopolistic practices of trade unions, and seems to attach a little too much faith to directing the stream of new recruits to the labor force. In the advanced industrial countries the labor force is steadily aging because the proportion of newcomers is diminishing. To aid labor mobility would thus seem to require more extensive adult retraining than is implied in this discussion.

Rural sociologists and economists will particularly want to read the author's cogent presentation of the case for removing barriers to mobility out of agriculture and for tackling the "farm problem" in terms of the entire economy. Both "back to the land" movements and what the author calls the "nutritional approach" are set down as blind alleys. Elsewhere it is noted that emphasis on public works and similar emergency measures may be less satisfactory than the expansion of opportunities in the production of goods and services for which there is a more genuine demand.

The author is no Pied Piper of Reaction, fearing planning by government but not by irresponsible private corporations, or longing for an impossible return to the good old days of smallness. He favors constructive intervention, which he distinguishes from that long accepted by business interests because it was designed to protect existing rigidities. His test for intervention or planning is whether the private or public machinery is likely to be the more active and effective, and he does

not think the answer will be the same in all cases.

The book is not easy reading. The paragraphs are long, and the style, although lucid, is not sparing. In only five of the book's sixteen chapters are subheadings introduced to aid the reader in following the structure of the argument. But the reader who is willing to follow the author slowly will have made some progress at the end.

WILBERT E. MOORE.

Princeton University.

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*The Humanities and the Common Man.* By Norman Foerster. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 60. \$1.50.

What constitutes a liberal education and what role the humanities should play in higher education are questions that are being raised everywhere in the academic world today. This little volume advances the argument that the spirit of the humanities should dominate the public colleges and universities, and condemns existing domination of these institutions by utilitarian specialists who emphasize training for a job and drawing the student into a vocation as early as possible.

No one can question the value of the humanities in the curricula in helping "to fashion ideas, concepts, and forms that give meaning and value to life and furnish the patterns of conduct," or how impossible it would be for us to try to get along "without the aid of certain people who can be trusted to speak with authority on the vitally important questions of human ends." An education inspired by the humanistic ideal is a liberal education and Foerster insists that a liberal education cannot be achieved through vocational education. We must, he says, set about "liberalizing our technical and vocational education." But how is the humanizing to be done?

The last three sections of this brief discussion are entitled "The Great Curriculum," "The Great Faculty," and "The Great Administration," indicating that the way to liberalize American higher education is

through a common core of studies taught by the right kind of professors selected by sympathetic and intelligent administrators. The curriculum of foundation studies, according to Foerster, will be drawn mainly from the natural sciences and the humanities—the physical and biological sciences, history, literature, art, and philosophy. It will address the student "not as a future technician and specialist, but as a human being interested in understanding himself and his world." But the author rightly concludes that this new task cannot be expected to succeed until schools in each subject have reconceived their aims and methods through "a humanistic philosophy based on the concept of the dignity of man, rather than a naturalistic philosophy that has led us toward a materialistic chaos and a resurgence of barbarism."

The author feels that the only way to improve the curricula is to improve the faculty which designs them. Reforming the faculty is a great task, and too much blame for existing conditions in American colleges and universities should not be placed upon the deans and presidents. This reviewer feels that Foerster places far too much credit or discredit upon deans and administrative officers for the existing emphasis upon the technical and vocational rather than the humanistic curricula. It should not be forgotten that publicly-supported state colleges and universities find that the public pulse is an extremely important factor in determining policies and procedures. The author believes that public opinion today is sounder education-wise than administrative opinion and that it is more likely to ask the fundamental questions and face them squarely. It may be true that the public generally has a stronger feeling and appreciation for the essentials of education, or a "common core" of knowledge and abilities as means of self-realization and social unity than most college deans and presidents, but this reviewer is not so sure that this is true. The sweep of masses on the march not only in this country but over the world generally has placed rather heavy emphasis upon the

vocational and technical types of training, and living in the kind of society in which we live, there is likely to be for many years heavy emphasis upon the practical and vocational-type courses.

Somewhere between the two extremes of strictly vocational or technical types of education and the liberal arts, the humanities type should be a reasonable meeting ground in which a fairly well-balanced education could be secured. It is doubtful if a complete revolutionary change could or should occur overnight. Moreover, one should remember that the publicly supported universities and colleges constitute only one of the major institutions influencing cultural change and determining public opinion. Higher education can and should do much to improve its offerings and to provide for the student ample opportunities to secure a good appreciation of the humanities and social sciences as well as of the technical and vocational fields. Adequate solution of our problems depends upon this approach, this reviewer believes, rather than extreme emphasis upon either one to the complete exclusion of the other.

R. R. RENNE.

Montana State College.

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*The Mentally Ill in America.* By Albert Deutsch. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xvii + 530. \$4.00.

Here is "must reading" for sociologists and for any other intelligent reader who wants to gain a better understanding of one of the major social problems of our times. Written by the very able man who is currently Welfare Editor of the Newspaper *PM*, this book represents the first comprehensive history of the care and treatment of the mentally ill in America. It covers the period from colonial times, including Old-World backgrounds, down to the period just prior to World War II. Originally published in 1937 by Doubleday, Doran and Company, it has been reprinted without revision by the present publisher.

The history starts from the days when psychotic persons were thought to be pos-

sessed by demons, when therapy was limited largely to elaborate rituals of exorcism performed to drive out the devils. The history of the care of the mentally ill is not one of which Americans can be proud. It is truly a story of man's inhumanity to man. In the early period we see the mentally ill chained in cages, beaten regularly at certain times of the month, killed as witches (in New England), confined in almshouses and jails, "bid off" as paupers, and exhibited for a fee like animals in a zoo.

The gradual evolution of the modern state hospital and the use of the system of state care is traced with precision. The origin and development of the mental hygiene movement is sketched, as are the rising standards of care and treatment of patients.

Every great movement has its great personalities. Here the work and influence of three persons are outstanding—Dr. Benjamin Rush, called the father of American psychiatry, Dorothea Lynde Dix, whose heroic achievements during 40 years of crusading for better care of the mentally ill should be better known to all Americans, and Clifford Beers, founder of the Mental Hygiene Movement.

Chapters 1 to 13 describe in considerable detail the slow growth of provisions for the care of the mentally ill. Chapter 14 is valuable in tracing and explaining the extension of the study, treatment, and preventive practices outside the hospital. The expansion of interest from neurology to psychiatry, and from the psychoses to the neuroses and other personality disorders is sketched and explained. One chapter is devoted to the Mental Hygiene movement and its founder. Two chapters are devoted to a historic review of the growth of institutional provisions for the education and care of the mentally deficient. These chapters offer the uninitiated reader the means of gaining a quick orientation in the field of mental deficiency. This is followed by a short review of insanity and the criminal law, and a chapter dealing with our commitment laws and procedures. Chapter 20 deals with mod-

ern trends in institutional care and treatment of the mentally ill.

The final chapter describes the various schools of current psychiatric theory and practice, ending with a challenge to continued progress in the care and treatment of the mentally ill. Particularly, it offers a challenge to the mental hygienist, to the educator and to others who are seeking for preventive measures, for effective methods toward the positive promotion of mental health, and for the building of a better world.

While this book is written in a clear semi-popular style it is based on careful studies of original sources, and is rendered authentic by lists of source materials. Its 15 page index makes the book a serviceable reference volume.

During the 10 years that have lapsed since this book was written outstanding developments have occurred, and the reader may feel somewhat let down by the fact that this excellent history was not brought up-to-date.

A. R. MANGUS.

Ohio State University.

*Public Medical Care.* By Franz Goldmann.  
New York: Columbia University Press,  
1945. Pp. vii + 226. \$2.75.

This is a timely book for all those now so much interested in the topics of health and medical care. Its purpose is to present a composite picture of public medical care from humble beginnings in colonial times to a social movement steadily gaining in impetus, but still quite controversial.

Its framework is a twofold table of contents including (1) haphazard growth of public hospitals, clinics and programs, mainly for special kinds or selected groups of patients, and (2) directed growth through planning for hospitals and related facilities, for organization of professional services, for payment of facilities and services, and for administration of medical care.

Its underlying philosophy is that adequate medical care is a fundamental human right, as much a necessity as food, shelter,

clothing or education, or less indispensable to the well-being of society than to the welfare of the individual, and an essential component of any program for individual and social security.

Selected excerpts will serve to show some of the author's factual and philosophical statements, and perhaps whet appetites for others:

Well organized and properly conducted diagnostic and educational clinic service intensify existing desire and create new demand for medical care.  
. . . (p. 54)

If specialized service is to reach the large numbers of families living in thinly settled regions, small towns, and rural communities, the organization must be adapted to the particular conditions. Where people ordinarily cannot come to the clinic because of the distance and cost of travel, the clinic must come to the people. (pp. 57-58)

The history of community health organization shows that it requires a great disaster to convince both peoples and governments of the inadequacy of health policies carried over from old times. (p. 73)

The community which considers the introduction of an adequate, economical, and efficient program of public medical care must carefully weigh the relative merits and feasibility of the various methods of organizing and paying for medical service. There is no such thing as a golden rule applicable everywhere. (p. 99)

The forces representing organized care of the sick and the forces representing public health not only marched but also fought separately in the past. They still do. Public policy thus neglects the primary rule of grand strategy—to beat the enemy by joint operation. (p. 156)

Bigness as such does not necessarily spell adequacy, economy, and convenience of service. (p. 162)

There is little justification for the continued existence of three sets of

hospitals—governmental, nonprofit voluntary, and proprietary—if the result is wasteful duplication of accommodation, equipment, and services in one area and lack or scarcity of hospitals in others. (p. 166)

The evil of utterly uneven distribution of health personnel, with wealthy sections and urban areas oversupplied and poorer sections and rural areas sadly undersupplied, is not incurable. (p. 172)

Health insurance is a device with limitations as well as potentialities. . . . It is unsuited to cope with some catastrophes . . . is feasible only for people able to make regular contributions. . . . (p. 184)

Planning for adequate medical care is more than a method of organizing the application of scientific knowledge and technical skill. It is the expression of a social philosophy. It is effective only in so far as it is sustained by a conviction of principle. (p. 196)

Without further excerpts, it is easy to see this is primarily a book of principles and problems pertaining to public medical care. It is heavily documented with a long list of pertinent references, but it is not wholly a product without pride and prejudice, nor a treatise of developments in strictly chronological sequence.

LELAND B. TATE.

The Farm Foundation, Chicago.

*Problems of the Postwar World.* Edited by Thomas Carson Tooke McCormick. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. viii + 526. \$3.75.

This symposium grew out of the concerns of a group of scholars at the University of Wisconsin because they could not serve in the armed forces of the last war yet wished to make some contribution to the public understanding of postwar problems within their fields of specialization. Each author had the license to say what he wished in the way he thought best. The resultant volume is not so discordant a one

as the reader might expect it to be. Three major subjects are discussed—Economic Policy (6 chapters), Government and Society (5 chapters), and International Relations (9 chapters). And despite many significant omissions which were duly recognized by the editor, the contributed chapters are in the main readable and valid guides to the problems that have already arisen, and, apparently, to others that may develop. Yet, no one of the writers—they include Becker, Perlman, Brandeis, Hobson, Graves, Ellsworth, Gaus, Fellman, Willing, Stoke, Jordan, Gerth, Ogg, and McCormick—essays the role of prophet. All of them point to the need for all the good sense, wisdom, and fortitude that our nation can command.

The major problems toward which the cooperating social scientists would direct the layman's attention are not so simple. They include: *income and employment* (our standards of well-being must be raised if all our resources are to be fully utilized); *unionism* (postwar industrial relations will be determined to a great extent by how closely we approximate "full employment"); *social security* (not merely the cradle to grave security, but the opportunity for all of us to function as full members of our economy and government); *agriculture* (an acceptable standard of living for reasonably efficient farmers); *taxation* ("the safest generalization . . . is that there will be more of it."); *economic foreign policy* (we need an "expansionary, international" one, demanding bold and imaginative international action.); *planning* (we must prepare personnel and institutional devices adequate for the emerging society); *federalism* (probably power will continue to flow now in one direction, now in another "as the push of the moment dictates."); *local government* (fundamental changes are likely to come soon in urban areas, but "on the rural side it is not likely that drastic institutional rearrangements will occur in the predictable future"); *education* (must be democratically conducted toward democratic goals); the *Negro problem* (will be more acute than it was a generation ago); the

new *nationalism* (nations in leagues are still nations seeking the greatest safety and prosperity for their own peoples); *international organization* (the revolt of administrators against orderly development of social organization did not end with the defeat of the Tri-axis); *American-British relations* (we are advised to develop cordial ones); *Russia* (we have no sword to brandish over her, but economic necessity can become the foundation of our diplomatic opportunity); *German peoples on the eve of occupation* (we must work with "intelligence" for "success," for the problem is of great magnitude); *The Far East* (can we keep a good record?); *Pan-America* (probably we can develop "one hemisphere" if not "one world").

What contradictory slants? What a mélange of opinion and directives? Of course. Have you read your morning's paper?

IRA DE A. REID.

Atlanta University.

*The German People. A Social Portrait to 1914.* By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. iii-143. \$1.75.

In this short treatise the author attempts to give an historic-anthropological interpretation of German culture stressing attitudes and other characteristics of Germans of different classes at different times previous to 1914. Beginning with the question, "Who are the Germans?" he attempts to demonstrate the great variability in physical and cultural characteristics. Figures (without source) are included to demonstrate that Germans are not the most dolichocephalic, light-completed, tallest people of Europe. The author then attempts to show that there is lacking a "general German ethos." Through his own observation and a study of the great personages in German literature and life, the author attempts to show that differences have been great and important. These and locality differences, which he calls *campanilismo* or particularism, were threatened by a strong current of nationalism.

A current which ran counter to extreme nationalism was the cosmopolitan attitude of men like Goethe, Frederick the Great, Herder, H. Von Humbolt, and even the masses during certain settled and peaceful epochs. The struggle between separatism and nationalism is, the author believes, all-important and furnished plenty of psychological conflicts among the liberals. The unexcelled German school system which early banished illiteracy from Germany, the exceedingly efficient army, and the fact that Germany never had a thorough-going revolution set Germany off from England and France.

The author makes much of his belief that one of Germany's greatest weaknesses was "the striking lack of . . . a class of gentlemen". The German upper class, the aristocracy, which set the pattern for so much of German life lacked refinement, an appreciation of fair play and true culture. The author claims that Bismarck remained a titled rustic. He quotes Lily Braun to show that "The Prussian, Silesian and Brandenburg nobleman with his large hands, burly figure, and thick skull often betrays even now that his ancestors had to work and live like peasants. . . ." He had a "coarse wit" and was not the bearer of refinement that the less influential Catholic nobleman was. Nevertheless, even Goethe never overcame his awe of hereditary rank.

The author accounts for the great weakness of the middle class by stressing the lack of a "truly aristocratic class with high ideals and cultural refinement and gentlemanly demeanor" as a peacemaker. Another weakness was its devotion to work and self-improvement rather than ideas of service, democracy, and social uplift. Artisans and tradesmen who were greatly influenced by the traditions of the guilds and the conservative peasants were suspicious of individualism, liberalism, and intellectualism. The petty bourgeois featured in later anti-Semitic propaganda.

The treatment is on the whole sympathetic to the Germans and the description of the German Jewry will interest all sociologists. Although many of the generali-

zations seem valid the supporting evidence is lacking. A middle class bias frequently appears and also an anglophilic current is evident. Sociologists will require more substantial evidence than a few quotations and a man's claim for knowledge of the culture. Nevertheless it is reassuring to read a book which is as sympathetic and objective so soon after the war. A useful bibliography is included.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS.

Michigan State College.

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*The Family. From Institution to Companionship.* By Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke. New York: American Book Company, 1945. Pp. xvi + 800. \$4.25.

The main thesis of this book is that "the family in historical times has been, and at present is, in transition from an institution to a companionship . . . in the past the important factors unifying the family have been external, formal, and authoritarian, as the law, the mores, public opinion, tradition, the authority of the family head, rigid discipline, and elaborate ritual . . . in the new emerging form of the companionate family, its unity inheres less and less in community pressures and more and more in such interpersonal relations as the mutual affection, the sympathetic understanding, and the comradeship of its members."

Materials are organized in four parts: Part I, "The Family in Social Change," deals with the changing patterns of family behavior in divergent contemporary situations—the Chinese, the rural, the urban, the Negro, and the Russian family. Part II, "The Family and Personality Development," is concerned with personality as it is formed through cultural and psychogenic conditioning and interpersonal relationships in the family. Part III, "Family Organization," considers family unity and stresses the basic principle that the process of communicative interaction within the family is the vital element in its unity and success.

Part IV, "Family Disorganization and Reorganization," rather than viewing disorganization as pathological, treats it as new patterns of behavior emerging in response to social change, changing patterns which are concomitant with the transition from the institutional to the companionship family.

To document and to analyze this fundamental trend in family organization the authors have used statistical research findings plus personal records which give "flesh and blood" quality to the study. Concepts are defined by use of the ideal-type procedure, a device which is a most helpful tool for classifying, comparing, and analyzing family behavior.

An excellent feature of the book lies in the research projects which are presented as chapter endings "to arouse the interest of the student in research upon marriage and the family . . . and to present a framework of concepts in which questions might be raised and hypotheses formulated." I am finding that these sections are of great interest to my students.

This study of the family is a valuable addition to the field, not only because it increases our understanding of the family as a unity of interacting persons, shaping the personality of its members and adapting to social change, but also because it points up the gaps in our knowledge and indicates the great need for further research. I felt this need particularly in reading the chapter on the rural family which contained fewer personal documents (and more statistics) than any of the five family types included in the section. We still make too many generalizations about the family. For example, the authors state that "students of rural life, while pointing out the difficulty of making valid generalizations because of the diversity of types of rural families, are agreed that the one fundamental characteristic of the farm family is that its members work together as a unit with resulting family solidarity." My hunch is that future research within the framework of the social class structure of

the rural community will show that rural family behavior is too diversified for such a generalization.

EDITH J. FREEMAN.

Brooklyn, New York.

*Seaman A. Knapp, Schoolmaster of American Agriculture.* By Joseph C. Bailey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xiii + 307. \$3.25.

The demonstration method of teaching farmers, initiated by Seaman A. Knapp in Texas in 1903, set in motion a process which was destined to become one of the most dynamic and profitable ever to benefit the American farmer. In working with people Knapp proved himself to be a master of applied psychology. He started with the individual farmer, but was not content until the farmer's community was aroused with his proposals.

In reflecting on his work with the individual Knapp said, "What a man hears he may doubt, what he sees he may possibly doubt, but what he does himself he cannot doubt." (p. 155) Speaking of demonstration work he later said, "the crucial point was to minimize the government's share and to enhance by every device possible the part played by the individual farmer and to lay on him, in full view of his neighbors and fellow citizens, inescapable responsibility for the shortcomings or success of his commitment." (p. 157) No little of Knapp's success was due to his ability to convince the farmer that improved farm practices had a cash value. (p. 175)

Knapp saw the wisdom of approaching farmers through the leaders of their own groups. It is significant that all of his first farm agents were successful farmers. There were no professional men among them. The author states that Knapp by "instinct and necessity" chose his agents with characteristics similar to his own.

In establishing and promoting demonstration work Knapp did not neglect the townsmen, especially the businessmen and bankers with whom the farmer dealt. In the inception of the work, communities underwrote

any loss incurred by the farmer as a result of using improved but, to the farmer, untried practices. Knapp convinced the townsmen that they could not afford to let demonstration work fail, since their economic well-being and that of the farmers were closely interwoven. By these tactics Knapp hedged the farmer about with those who were vitally interested in his work. He created a success atmosphere on the farms and in the farmers' towns. In speaking of his work in the wider community Knapp once said, "I must state that my best helpers were the ministers of all denominations," whom he convinced of the soundness of the demonstration idea. Also, "The traveling salesmen were my second best assistants."

The first six chapters are primarily of biographical and historical interest. There is much in Chapters VII and VIII dealing with psychological and sociological principles to commend them to the busiest of Extension workers and others interested in applied social science. The remaining chapters (IX to XII) deal with the development of demonstration work into a national service for the farm families of America.

Those interested in livestock will not miss the author's questionable use of the term "thoroughbred" in connection with cattle. (Pp. 63, 92, 95)

A note familiar to agricultural personnel is struck in Chapter XII, which points out that prior to the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, a long and sometimes bitter struggle existed between the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities and the U. S. Department of Agriculture over matters of policy.

LINDEN S. DODSON.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Providing for Unemployed Workers in the Transition.* By Richard A. Lester. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xi + 152. \$1.50.

This book is a very direct contribution to the practical aspects of maintaining full employment. It especially applies to that

critical period when the Nation is reorienting itself to a changed era of production. The author states the problem, and then proceeds directly to an evaluation of the factors which will help alleviate an unemployment situation.

The first factor discussed by Mr. Lester is that reserves held by the workers have increased tremendously during the war years. But further than this, the distribution of these holdings among the different income brackets actually will determine the effectiveness of these savings in tiding the Nation over an unemployment period. Other forms of reserves center largely in unemployment compensation funds which have been increasing at the rate of one to one-and-a-half billion a year. The policy of states and cities toward building up post-war reserve funds has put another sizeable sum in readiness for use in bridging an unemployment gap.

The author comes to the heart of the problem by evaluating these several forms of reserves as to adequacy in meeting transitional unemployment. He concludes that the sum total would be large enough, but that they are poorly distributed and severely compartmentalized and, therefore, not fully effective.

The systems now available for unemployment compensation have not as yet been tested under the condition of a business slump so that the frail elements in the structures have not yet been located. However, the treatise goes forward and suggests some improvements—the need for which is evidenced by a careful study which the author has made. There are some major shortcomings such as lack of coverage, great variation in benefit provisions, variation of reserves in each of fifty-two reserve funds. As definite suggestions for improvement, he analyzes three structural revisions—(1) a unified national system, (2) supplemental benefits financed by the Federal Government, and (3) Federal aid or loan arrangement to support state funds.

The author also sets forth some of the actions which can be put into effect by private industry to help solve the problem,

even though this activity is restricted by the fact that industry must operate for profit. Among the measures which business can provide are severance pay and alternative kinds of work such as repairing, and anticipation hiring. These measures would be a contribution to a favorable "economic climate."

The versatility of the worker as it would be increased by a program of training is not only discussed, but practical suggestions for organizing and maintaining a training program are set out for immediate use.

The whole presentation recommends itself for reading and study because it does summarize what has been accomplished toward building up reserves for overcoming—or at least alleviating—a situation which may arise at any time, or is even now the most important consideration for this Nation's economy. The reading of the book is particularly valuable in that it does point out the several aspects of timing and ironing out the prospective difficulties of a program designed to meet a period of transitional unemployment which has not as yet been tried under the conditions it is meant to overcome.

E. A. STARCH.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*Mississippi Study of Higher Education*  
1945. By Joseph E. Gibson and Others.  
Jackson, Mississippi: Board of Trustees,  
Institutions of Higher Learning,  
1945. Pp. 402.

This survey of the higher educational institutions of Mississippi was made by representative specialists of the United States Office of Education and certain state departments of education and state universities, under the direction of Joseph E. Gibson, Director of Higher Education for the State of Louisiana. Most of the consultants who made the study were educators familiar with Southern educational conditions.

The study is devoted to the state-supported institutions of higher education which include five four-year colleges for

white students and two four-year colleges for Negroes. An outstanding weakness in the study is the fact that it does not take in the four senior colleges which are privately supported, the 17 junior colleges, 12 of which receive state support, and six privately-supported Negro colleges.

The report is divided into five parts each of which is divided into chapters. Part I is a summary of recommendations to the Board of Trustees by the Study Committee. Part II describes the state administrative organization of institutions of higher education and recommends certain changes. Part III is concerned with the educational programs in the institutions and their relationship to the needs of the state with emphasis on such matters as health, library facilities, terminal and vocational education, teacher training, agricultural and engineering education, and others. Part IV deals with the organization and administration of the particular institutions and includes such subjects as faculty personnel, student personnel programs, public relations, finance and the physical plant. Part V is devoted to Negro education.

A valuable feature of the report is that each topic is introduced by an exposition of basic educational principles which seem pertinent. The Mississippi institutions are then examined in terms of the basic concepts and judgment is drawn as to their adequacies and their inadequacies. Recommendations are then given for improving or correcting the existing conditions.

From the viewpoint of the reviewer among the most valuable and interesting chapters of the report are those dealing with the health of the Mississippi population and the medical care available to that population. The report points out that Mississippi has the lowest physician-to-population ratio of any state. The same is true of trained nurses. It further points out that the training of more medical practitioners is no guarantee that there will be more doctors in the state. The first need of the state is a reorganization of the hospital system with new hospitals provided which will be available to rural people. A plan for "Pre-

payment Health Service" is suggested. A medical school and schools of nursing are also recommended.

The study is a valuable contribution to the field of educational literature. It should be of interest to educators and to rural sociologists for the reason that it is a study of higher education in the most rural of all states of the Union. In this state there are more higher educational institutions in proportion to the population and more effort is required in relation to ability to pay than is found in any other state.

MARION B. SMITH.  
Louisiana State University.

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*Post-War Jobs. A Guide to Current Problems and Future Opportunities.* Edited by Nelson and Henrietta Poynter. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 211. Cloth bound, \$2.50; Paper bound, \$2.00.

As the title indicates, the book points out the problems of achieving the objectives of full employment. It presents a mass of detailed information clearly in a limited space on current and controversial issues.

The first chapter is a summary of the post-war job problem. Succeeding chapters present in greater detail the various means whereby full employment may be attained. Most chapters close with sections on political implications and attitudes in Congress with reference to each phase. Mass idleness cost the United States over 265 billion dollars from 1930 to 1940 emphasizing the importance of full employment in 14,000,000 jobs in addition to the 46,000,000 jobs available in 1940.

Full production and full employment can be achieved only if our tax laws protect mass purchasing power as well as encourage capital investment and business expansion. Disposal of surplus property is analyzed as it affects full employment. "Veterans may comprise close to one-fourth of the post-war labor force." Only an expanding economy, with full production and employment can assure all veterans a job.

Extension of social security will help

promote full employment by increasing purchasing power during temporary unemployment and by making retirement of old workers possible. About 25 million workers will be changing jobs and will be in temporary unemployment. Public works will serve as a cushion against unemployment. It can serve three major functions: provision of additional jobs during the reconversion period; promotion of regional development; and provision of a backlog of jobs for periods of unemployment. New industries can be a source of many new jobs and make more general our high standard of living.

Agriculture is suggested as a field for the employment of several million people not now engaged in agriculture as well as a source of increased purchasing power, and the production of raw material to be used in industry. The hope is held out that the farm labor displaced by mechanization of farms can still remain on the land by the development of the family farm.

The United States cannot maintain a high level of living for its people and provide 60 million jobs without a healthy foreign trade. A market for about 10 billion dollars worth of goods and services must be found in foreign countries. Helping other nations industrialize will boost our exports. Reciprocal tariffs reduce trade barriers and encourage trade. With the disappearance of physical isolation, economic isolation becomes impossible.

Housing is one of the greatest of post war needs. About 16,500,000 new dwelling units are needed besides the improvement of nearly 10 million more. This will require the construction of 1,650,000 units annually for 10 years, employing 3,530,000 men. Opposition to prefabrication and speculative buying must be overcome. Discrimination in employment against minority groups hinders full employment and restricts full purchasing power.

*Post-War Jobs* is recommended as a source book of documented information on the problems of full employment.

D. C. DVORACEK.

University of Minnesota.

*A Business of My Own.* By Arthur E. Morgan. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Community Service, Inc., 1945. Pp. 160. \$0.75.

A number of books have appeared in recent months designed to assist former servicemen and others in starting their own businesses. Mr. Morgan's monograph is different from the others in that it emphasizes the small business in the small community; it is recognized that most businesses in large cities are also small, but interest centers in those firms for which a small-community location means lower costs and maximum satisfaction to the participants. In the philosophy of the author, business is not an end in itself but falls into its proper place in the entire social, cultural and ethical design of the community.

A large part of the book is devoted to brief statements of a considerable number of small firms in unusual lines of business. This is an improvement upon many of the guidebooks for the returning serviceman which limit their analysis to retail merchandising, an already overcrowded field. Mention of the age of many of the firms cited helps, too, to dispose of the shibboleth that the small enterprise must grow larger or stagnate. Much good would come from enlarging these case studies to show why the firms mentioned have succeeded and why some others in similar industries and in similar communities have died. The aspirant to business ownership will have to look elsewhere for descriptions of principles and techniques of business organization and operation; such descriptions were not one of the author's objectives.

The early part of the book presents the philosophy of the author and of Community Service, Inc. as to the place of profit in business motivation as compared with other satisfactions to be derived from business achievement. This discussion raises some nice issues as to the ethics of competition and of the profit motive, and the efficacy of pecuniary motives in directing resources to their most effective uses. This reviewer cannot agree with the author's analogies

between our private capitalistic system and a feudal society. Whatever may be the weaknesses of our present economic system, it certainly is the antithesis of authoritarian feudalism. The author speaks of General Motors Corporation "ruling the economic lives of many thousands of men." (Pp. 6-7.) As this review is written these men are on strike, but the statement would not be any more true if they were not. The controversies to which such statements give rise, however, are of little direct concern to those for whom the book was prepared; wherever the truth lies in such issues, the value of the book to the prospective businessman is not seriously affected.

A revised and enlarged edition of this book to sell for \$1.00 is in press as this review, based on the first edition, is written.

MARSHALL D. KETCHUM.

The University of Chicago.

*Supervising People.* By George D. Halsey. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. x + 233. \$3.00.

"This book is intended primarily for supervisors—foremen in shops and mills, section heads in offices, assistant buyers and floor managers in retail stores—the men and women directly in charge of the workers and finally responsible for whether or not each individual's work is well done." It should also prove useful for teachers and students of leadership, social psychology, counselling, and for special reports in industrial and vocational relations.

*Supervising People* is simply written and well-organized. It is very explicit in its presentation. Not only does the author offer sound theoretical suggestions, but he relates them to experiences taken from real-life situations. The reader is given clear-cut, step-by-step procedures, and can readily apply them to his own situations.

After beginning with a definition of supervision, the author presents in detail how the six qualities—thoroughness, fairness, initiative, tact, enthusiasm, and emotional control—are important to success in supervising people. Emphasis is given to the

fact that all six qualities must be included by the successful supervisor. An unsuccessful supervisor may lack only one or two qualities, but these deficiencies in one or more often prove to be his downfall.

Significantly, the author goes back to the basic psychology of human behavior, and discusses this in simple lay language. He then discusses each of the many phases that are involved in supervising people: Job Specifications; Use of Tests; Interviewing Applicants; Job Evaluation and Salary Administration; Starting New Employees; How to Hold Good Meetings; Measuring and Rating Performance; Correcting without Offending; Problem Cases; Dismissals; Developing Assistants; Special Considerations in Supervision of Women; Employee Counselor; Improving Work Methods; Wage Incentives; Prevention of Accidents; Morale; and Code of Ethics. He concretely illustrates how the qualities of good supervision apply the psychology of human behavior.

The bibliography which is included at the end of each chapter, and summarized at the end of the book, is, like the book, of a non-technical nature.

The author concludes with "A Suggested Program for Your Development in the Art of Supervising People." This chapter is chiefly a self-rating test which may be used by conscientious persons to check their strong and weak qualities.

GERALD T. HUDSON.  
Colorado A. & M. College.

*The United Nations Economic and Social Council.* By Herman Finer. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1946. Pp. 121. Cloth \$0.50; Paper \$0.25.

This little book offers a well-rounded account of the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council as formulated in the Charter, and of the potentialities inherent in such responsibility for contributing maximally to the objectives of the United Nations. Using as background the experience of the social and economic agencies of the League of Nations, Mr. Finer argues strongly for the fullest exploitation of the

Council's role as a kind of international brain trust and budget bureau for the General Assembly; it would coordinate and review the work of other specialized agencies—e.g., the ILO, Food and Agriculture Organization, The International Monetary Fund, and so forth—but without “encroaching on the responsibility accorded to the governing bodies.” The author feels, clearly, that the Council's operations ought to be motivated by a ‘welfare economy’ ideology.

In developing his hopeful picture of the Council's possible future, Mr. Finer confronts himself repeatedly, and somewhat dolefully, with the Charter's limitation on the Council's authority to “the promotion of international cooperation by the specific means of studies and recommendations.” He recognizes that the problem rests in the willingness of each separate national sovereignty to abide by recommendations, but insists that the life of the United Nations demands such willingness.

Those who feel that the future of the Council, as well as that of the United Nations, will be determined by the needs of the large Powers in their interrelationships, will be little stirred by the blueprint of part of an international governmental machinery that this book offers. For social scientists—especially those anxious to relate research to live problems—the Social and Economic Council will undoubtedly offer broad areas for work.

NATHAN K. MENDELSON.

Teachers College, Columbia University.

*United For Freedom.* Edited by Leo R. Ward, C. S. C. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1945. Pp. vii + 264. \$2.50.

This book is about the cooperative movement, what it has done and can do in meeting social and economic needs. There are 17 chapters by various authors. Due to the wide scope of interests included, one man could hardly have written it.

While it is men's nature to respect one another and to work together, social and

economic conflict continues in the wake of the war. The mark of our economic system—once individualism—is steadily shifting to collectivism. The cooperative movement is the best means at hand for serving the interests of the individual, the home, and to safeguard our freedom. Personalistic, human and democratic, cooperation promotes the common unity so essential to our time.

Father Ward's own views on cooperation and the state are timely. Cooperation does not flourish in a government-controlled economy and disappears under dictatorships. Independence in regard to political, social and religious issues is more tenable than the position of “neutrality” which cooperatives have been assumed to hold.

A human-interest history of the movement provides information of interest to many. Essential functions of cooperation are clearly stated, although, some will wish to enlarge or modify those given. A discussion of the Nova Scotia movement gives us a clear picture of how an economically distressed people have advanced beyond the experimental stage in helping themselves.

A chapter of particular interest to us is the “Economics of Consumer Cooperation.” The consumer who frequently is confronted by high pressure sales methods designed more for getting his dollar than meeting his needs, finds in cooperation a method for serving his needs more efficiently. Cooperation does not aim to destroy private business but it is a resource for protecting the consumer against malpractices of any who would exploit him. The author sees no immediate probability of cooperation's displacing private industry to any marked extent, but he holds that if the individual has the right to establish his own enterprise, a group of individuals should have that same privilege.

The discussion by Hynes on the family and cooperation will be of interest to the sociologist, the churchman, and the social worker alike. The various authors have been carefully chosen, as one can see if he follows them as they discuss the spirit and philosophy of cooperation, the history of the movement, how people in various cir-

cumstances have helped themselves, and the near kinship between cooperation, democracy and the Christian Faith.

Cooperation in relation to the land, to labor, various vocational groups, the school and the campus is also presented. Perhaps it was never so important that men of all classes, races and nationalities find a basis in "common unity" for advancing a better social and economic order.

The book is well edited and the sociologist will find much to commend both in the subject matter, and in its presentation. Discussion groups should find the book adapted to their needs.

I. W. MOOMAW

Elgin, Illinois.

*One Foot on the Soil.* By Paul W. Wager. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1945. Pp. xiv + 230.

This study covers the development of the five subsistence homestead communities in Alabama from their initiation in 1934 through 1944. Major objectives of the report include the determination of: (1) potentialities and limitations of a pattern of life when industrial employment is combined with part-time farming, and (2) weighing whether the social advantages of subsistence homesteads warrant their development as a public enterprise with or without subsidy.

Because changes in administrative policies prevented a clearcut analysis of the assumptions used by the Division of Subsistence Homesteads in setting up the projects, a test was not available as to relative functioning of public housing for city workers in rural areas under a high degree of community responsibility or under more distant administrative control. In the analysis of present and former occupants of the homesteads, valid criteria for family selection were not revealed, which is a sharp challenge to further research on this problem. Evaluation of family attainments was made by studying the adjustments of resident households, including their levels

of living. While outside the scope of this study, it would obviously be pertinent to have an analysis of family attainments of a similar group of city workers having urban residences. Attitudes and overt behavior of the residents regarding formal and informal group relationships were examined including the shift from some hostility to positive working relations between older residents of the localities and the "homesteaders." The rise and development of the several cooperative activities were given careful analysis. It would have been helpful if the functions of cooperative farm services had been more fully described since they are unique among cooperative enterprises. In the penetrating analysis of the fiscal record, allocations of some of the financial costs of the homesteads are made to work relief benefits, local government subsidies, speculative risk, as well as the subsidies to homesteaders. Valid recognition is given to such intangible benefits as the encouragement given the families participating in the program.

This book is a "must" to anyone interested in rural dwellings for low-income city workers as well as to those concerned with the broader field of part-time farming. It is outstanding for its treatment of relationships among the major factors operative in subsistence-homesteads communities and for its definitive description of such factors. More factual data to buttress narrative conclusions will be desired by those interested in certain of the several phases covered in the report. The author has, however, differentiated between conclusions supported by data and tentative assumptions. The clear and incisive statements are deserving of special commendation.

DONALD G. HAY.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Mississippi Farmers.* By Herbert Weaver. Nashville: The Vanderbilt University Press, 1945. Pp. 139. \$2.50.

This book is the second in a series of volumes, which are to be written under the supervision of Dr. Frank L. Owsley, and

which are to be dedicated to correcting much of the misinformation, long accepted as truth, about the late ante-bellum South. To students of Southern history and to those interested in rural sociological trends as well, these revelations are welcome.

In Mississippi, during the decade reviewed, the planters did not own all of the most fertile land nor had they forced the small independent farmers to exist on soil of marginal fertility. On the contrary, yeomen lived interspersed among the planters in all parts of the state. Furthermore, the yield of their crops was equal, acre for acre, to that of their planter neighbors. These small farmers were thrifty, proud, independent and ambitious. They were numerically greater than and not socially inferior to the wealthier planters.

Certainly there were poor whites in the Magnolia State just before the War Between the States but they constituted not over ten per cent of the population. They usually lived in cabins with a "dog run" separating the two rooms, cultivated 5 or 6 acres of land with a "bag of bones," had a small garden of "greens" while for their meat they sometimes shot a "piney woods rooter" or perchance caught a catfish in a not distant stream.

Contrary to what able historians—Paxson and Fish have written about the one crop system in the old South, the author found a marked degree of diversified farming. Soil building crops were increasing, the value of livestock more than doubled between 1850 and 1860 and the bettered self-sufficiency seemed to presage the dethroning of "King Cotton."

This book is well written, fortressed by ample footnotes, aided by an accurate index, cushioned by an extended bibliography and supported by numerous tables and maps.

GEORGE C. OSBORN.  
Memphis State College.

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*Extracto Estadistico Del Peru 1943.* Dirección Nacional De Estadística. Lima. Pp. 734. Free Distribution.

The Statistical Abstract of Peru, an official publication of the National Director of Statistics, contains a wide and varied amount of information about the various economic, social and political activities of this Republic during the year 1943.

The publication is divided into two parts, and the first one is subdivided into four sections that contain data relating to: (1) Territory, demography, public assistance; (2) Agricultural products, livestock, fisheries, mining, industries, transport, internal and external trade, money, banking, and insurance; (3) labor and social insurance; (4) public finance, administration, justice, education and culture, religion, and so forth.

The second part has sections with textual material to explain certain phenomena of the social mechanism, pointing out their outstanding characteristics as they appear in the general complex, and their trends from year to year and in long periods of time. The data of many economic, political and social phenomena are presented in charts.

Time series have not been omitted but have been presented in special cases where it has been necessary to show outstanding changes or to make useful comparisons for the reader. The orientation is the one that the statistician regularly uses in annual publications.

The abstract is a work of great value for the business man, the researcher and the state official. It represents a technical and financial effort that honors the Peruvian government and those who have had the job of preparing the abstract.

RAUL GARCIA.  
University of Cordoba.

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*The Wages of Farm and Factory Laborers, 1914-1944.* By Daniel J. Ahearn, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 245. \$3.00.

The stated purpose of this book is "To compare the wages of farm laborers with

those of factory laborers from 1914 to 1944. . . . Most of our inquiry centers around the fact that the wage rates of factory laborers between 1914 and 1939 increased 200 per cent, whereas the wage rates of farm laborers . . . increased only 9 per cent."

In spite of the title only two out of 51 tables show data for years later than 1940 and the relatively greater rise in farm wage rates since then is not adequately accounted for in the discussion. Data for farm workers are mostly drawn from the Census and the BAE employment and wage series; for factory laborers from various sources. Both are adjusted for cost of living to show changes in real wages. There is little discussion of the composition of the farm labor force and no recognition of such facts as over a half million farm operators reporting work on other farms in 1939.

That farm wage rates have been low is obvious. But the causes are more complex than the author indicates in such conclusions as "Farm wage rates rose and fell in accordance with successive changes in the selling price of farm products. The wage rates of factory laborers rose more . . . because manufacturing, unlike agriculture . . . increased its productivity per worker and in so doing was enabled to increase the wage rates. . . ." The author goes so far in minimizing the effect of improved technology in agriculture as to make the erroneous statement (p. 205) that corn pickers and potato planters were not on the market before 1925.

The substantial decrease in farm population and employment and increase in production and farm wage rates from 1939 to 1944, if contrasted with previous periods would provide a much broader base for study than is utilized in this book. Earlier publication might have served some useful purpose, but it is no longer necessary to explain why farm wages have failed to rise above the 1914 level.

J. C. ELLICKSON.

Washington, D. C.

*The World's Hunger.* By Frank A. Pearson and Floyd A. Harper. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1945. Pp. 90. \$1.50.

The authors present a brief 90-page appraisal of the world's food situation. How much the peoples of the world produce, eat, and buy or sell is set forth statistically and discussed for the world as a whole, by continents, and per capita. This food presentation is also divided by classes as animal, vegetable, wet, and dry, with the comparative amounts produced and consumed by the various peoples and continents. This covers 17 pages.

The next thirty pages are devoted to showing how much natural factors as heat, moisture, land forms, and soils are favorably combined for food production in only about five per cent of the world's land area and that the world's much vaster water surface is of little value in adding to the amount of food produced. The balance of the book considers food in relation to population problems and as a factor in modern international relations.

The value of this book is in its presentation of the world's food problem as a whole. It can provide a check against extremely optimistic or pessimistic views expressed from limited knowledge or experience. It is, however, a restatement of material spasmodically presented over the last 25 years as its rather extensive bibliography indicates. The authors conclude that an appreciable increase in the world's dietary standards as a whole can not be expected. On the other hand, they are not overly pessimistic of the world's ability to recover past standards temporarily and locally disrupted by war.

The text is interesting and easily read. It deserves study by both layman and scholar. The reader, however, should avoid being overly impressed by the author's apparent conclusion as to the world's inability to overcome natural and cultural handicaps in increasing its food production. Prominent authorities assure us that modern technology, symmetrically applied, may in-

crease our food production beyond the bounds of any present conception.

J. R. SCHWENDEMAN.

University of Kentucky.

*North Dakota Weather and the Rural Economy.* By J. M. Gillette. Bismarck, North Dakota: North Dakota Historical Society, Vol. 12, No. 1-2, Jan., 1945. Pp. 98. No price stated.

For over 40 years, J. M. Gillette has been producing research studies of importance to rural sociology. This research is a study of the effect of weather on the economy of North Dakota. The focus is primarily on the relationship of rainfall and temperature to wheat production and the influence of these on living conditions in the state. Its purpose is to lay the foundation for a Great Plains regional sociology.

The study is of interest to rural sociologists because it shows in a careful and cautious way the possible conditioning influence of basic geographic factors upon the social organization of an area. The author's statement that, "for scientific purposes, a region is a considerable territory in which the fundamental cultural behavior patterns, such as the political, industrial, educational, and religious, classes and castes, modes of farming, customs, manners, and so on are demonstrably and measurably predestined by a fiat of nature," give him a research goal that is most exacting. I recommend its careful study to regional sociologists. Gillette hews to this line closely as his study progresses. It is a good example of defining a problem and keeping it in mind at each step.

The significant practical result of the analysis should be to make North Dakotans and Great Plains residents and planners more conscious of the operation of these conditioning forces. Gillette points out that in spite of expert advice, running over four to five decades, emphasizing diversification, more wheat is now raised than ever before.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University.

*One Man—Edward Asbury O'Neal, III of Alabama.* By P. O. Davis. Auburn: The Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1945. Pp. 125.

The book is a tribute to an Alabama farm leader who is President of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The author is Director of the Alabama Agricultural Extension Service and there are introductory statements by other officials of the College. The primary purpose of the book is well stated by L. N. Duncan, President of the College, in his statement ". . . we are pleased to recognize and reindorse him (O'Neal), and to explain why."

The chief value of the book consists in its bringing together numerous extracts from public statements of President O'Neal concerning the policy of the Farm Bureau toward national problems. Some attention is given to the work of the Agricultural Extension Service and its relationship to the Farm Bureau. Sociologists will find the genealogy of O'Neal an interesting case history of leadership in the social, military, economic, political and professional life of the Nation.

RALPH J. RAMSEY.  
Fayetteville, Arkansas.

#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

*All These People.* By Rupert B. Vance. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. xxxiii + 503. \$5.00.

*Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography.* Social Science Research Council (Bulletin 54, 1946). New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. xi + 177. \$1.75.

*The Bill of Social Rights.* By Georges Gurvitch. New York: International Universities Press, 1946. Pp. 152. \$2.00.

*Outline of Family and Civilization.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. 18. \$0.65.

*Intellectual Trends in Latin America.* Papers Read at a Conference on Intellectual Trends in Latin America, Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1945. Pp. 148.

*Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work.* Selected Papers, Seventy-Second Annual Meeting, 1945. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. x + 407. \$5.00.

*Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe.* By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 299. \$3.00.

*Adolescence and Youth.* By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiii + 470.

*Agriculture in an Unstable Economy.* By Theodore W. Schultz. New York: Mc-

Graw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xix + 299. \$2.75.

*The New Poland.* By Irving Brant. New York: International Universities Press, 1946. Pp. 116. \$1.50.

*Eight Years of Public Health Work.* Harry E. Handley and Carolina R. Randolph. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1945. Pp. viii + 80. \$0.50.

*Industrial Relations and the Social Order.* By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. xii + 555. \$4.00.

*Democratic Human Relations.* Edited by Hilda Taba and William Van Til. Washington: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1945. Pp. xv + 366. Clothbound, \$2.80; paperbound, \$2.00.

*20th Century Sociology.* Edited by Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945. Pp. 754. \$6.00.

# NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Edited By Leland B. Tate*

## THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

### Minutes of Business Meetings

Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio  
March 2 and 3, 1946

(By the Secretary-Treasurer)

The first business meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m., March 2, by President Edmund deS. Brunner who presided.

Minutes of the 1945 business meetings, as published in the June, 1945, issue of *Rural Sociology*, were approved.

President Brunner appointed an Auditing Committee consisting of: Nat T. Frame, E. L. Kirkpatrick, and Myles Rodehaver; and a Resolutions Committee consisting of: Howard W. Beers, A. R. Mangus, and Thomas A. Tripp. He instructed them to prepare reports for the following day.

Secretary-Treasurer Leland B. Tate reported upon finances, and indicated that the Society's policy of allowing \$2.50 of the regular \$3.00 dues and all of the \$2.00 student dues for subscriptions to the Journal did not leave the Society enough to carry on extensive activities. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the report be accepted, submitted to the Auditing Committee, and published in the Journal.

As a matter of information the Secretary-Treasurer read the special memorandum of April 20, 1945 sent to deans, directors of research, extension and graduate studies, in explanation of the report on "Postwar Recruitment and Training of Rural Sociologists." He also read a few of the replies from deans and directors which contained comments about the report and its usefulness.

The Secretary-Treasurer next read the results of the annual election for 1946 officers as tabulated by a previously appointed committee whose chairman was Gene W. Carter, Chicago. The Committee of Tabulators reported the following officers elected

as a result of the 227 ballots returned by members:

President: Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

Vice President: Robert A. Polson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Secretary-Treasurer: Leland B. Tate, The Farm Foundation, Chicago, Illinois.

New member of the Executive Committee: Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

New member of Board of Editors: Rockwell C. Smith, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.

New member of Teaching Committee: Charles E. Lively, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

New member of Research Committee: Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

New member of Extension Committee: Nat T. Frame, U. S. D. A., B. A. E., Regional Office, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

C. Horace Hamilton, managing editor of the Journal, *Rural Sociology*, made his annual report and indicated that North Carolina State College would be glad to continue publication of the Journal upon the basis of the present arrangement with the Society. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the report be approved, submitted to the Auditing Committee, and published in the Journal.

President Brunner reported upon activities of the Executive Committee, including distribution of information about the G.I. Bill of Rights and contact with Land-Grant Colleges for the development of social science. He indicated no plans had been made for the regional refresher conferences suggested at the last annual meeting.

The Secretary-Treasurer read a statement about the proposed National Science Foundation and a resolution pertaining to this prepared by the American Farm Eco-

nomic Association. It was moved, seconded, and carried that our Resolutions Committee prepare a similar resolution.

As a matter of information, comments were made about the proposed reduction of funds for the U. S. D. A., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the possible effects of this action upon social surveys and other work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

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The second business meeting was called to order at 11:00 a.m., March 3, by President Edmund deS. Brunner who presided.

The following communication was read:

The Officers and Directors of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Cordially Invite You to Appoint from Two to Three Delegates to Represent the Rural Sociological Society at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Academy, April 5th and 6th, 1946, at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Ninth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

It was moved, seconded, and carried, that Donald G. Hay and E. J. Niederfrank of the U. S. D. A., Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Region IV, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, be encouraged to attend the Philadelphia meeting as representatives of the Rural Sociological Society.

Nat T. Frame, chairman of the Auditing Committee, made the following report which was read and approved:

We have examined the record system of the Secretary-Treasurer, and find it in much detail, accurately kept, and easily understood and checked.

The report of the Managing Editor is in order except for the following: The report is for 1945 but includes an item of \$530 for subscriptions paid by the Secretary-Treasurer after December 31,

1945, and an item of \$62.77 for sales of back issues of the Journal paid to the Secretary-Treasurer after December 31, 1945.

Hereafter, it is recommended that only items transacted for the fiscal period under consideration be included in yearly financial reports, and that a special account be set up for back issues of the Journal, owned by the Society, showing both debits and credits.

The report of the Special Committee on Policy prepared under the leadership of C. E. Lively was read by Douglas Enslinger, discussed and approved.

The report of the Special Committee on Reorganization was read by its chairman, T. Lynn Smith, discussed and referred to the incoming Executive Committee. It was suggested that the Executive Committee decide whether the report should be edited and published in the Journal.

It was moved by Edgar A. Schuler, seconded, and carried, that the incoming Executive Committee take the necessary steps to modify the election procedure so that only two persons will be nominated for each office; and to consider a change whereby the secretary-treasurer may be appointed by the Executive Committee rather than elected by the members-at-large.

It was moved by C. Horace Hamilton, seconded, and carried, that the incoming Executive Committee prepare an amendment to the constitution and by-laws raising the annual membership dues to \$3.50, of which \$1.00 is to be allocated to the Society and \$2.50 to the Journal; and at the same time consider the establishment of a Life Membership in the Society at a cost of \$100.00.

It was moved, seconded, and carried, that if possible the next annual meeting of the Society be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society; but an informal canvas of sentiment indicated that those present did not wish to have meetings during the Christmas holidays.

The report of the Resolutions Committee was read by Howard W. Beers, chairman, discussed, modified, and adopted. Its final form included seven resolutions as follows:

### I. Research

We welcome the challenge presented by the Research Committee in the paper by Dr. Robin M. Williams. Individually we commit ourselves to a specific application of this critique to our several research activities. We propose to develop our plans for future research in such a manner as to adopt more of the adequate orientations and procedure indicated by the experience evaluated in the report. We urge the publication of the critique and its distribution to experiment station directors and other administrators of rural sociology research. We urge also the incoming research and executive committees re-explore needs and opportunities for cooperative and correlative research efforts among workers in regions, and between workers in national and state research programs.

### II. Extension

We accept the report of the Committee on Extension as a constructive reformulation of the task of Extension rural sociology as the realistic facilitation of social action with contributions to all its administrative and operational aspects. We recognize and emphasize the consequent need for reconsideration of training programs for workers in extension, and for research in social action. We urge the incoming extension and executive committees to consider ways of expressing this reformulation of rural sociology extension's role adequately to administrators and to extension personnel. We urge also that all persons interested in this field participate in further developing the concept and in devising demonstrations of its soundness.

### III. Teaching

We acknowledge the need for improved teaching in rural sociology, and we suggest to the incoming committee on teaching that

it arrange for the preparation of reports on the problems of instruction listed by Dr. Charles Gomillion for the outgoing committee. It is suggested that a published collection of specific teaching devices now in use would be particularly helpful.

### IV. National Research

The Rural Sociological Society approves in principle the current proposals for Federal action to establish and finance an agency concerned with scientific research and development in the natural and social sciences. We request the Executive Committee, in cooperation with interested organizations or otherwise, to exercise leadership in an adequate consideration of these proposals. We are unanimous in a firm conviction that the broad purposes of a national research program cannot be even partially achieved unless there be a free development of social research that is at least comparable in scope to research in other fields.

### V. Plans For Cooperative Effort

We recognize a wide field of services that may be rendered by our discipline through such agencies as teacher education institutions, liberal arts colleges and theological schools. For our teaching it is urged that we give increased recognition to the fact that many students in rural sociology classes become rural teachers, rural ministers and leaders of other rural institutions. In research and especially extension programs in rural sociology it is proposed that we cooperate more actively with teacher training schools, liberal arts colleges, theological seminaries, rural schools, rural churches and other institutions concerned with farm and village people and leadership. We suggest that a representative committee be appointed by the incoming president to develop plans for cooperative effort among the workers in these agencies and institutions.

### VI.

To the outgoing officers of the American Sociological Society we express our deep

appreciation of their excellent cooperation with us in planning and successfully conducting our first post-war annual meeting.

## VII.

We express our deep gratitude to our outgoing officers for their diligence in guiding our affairs through the abnormal period of transition from war to the struggle for peace.

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Following some informal comments about ways and means to bring about more harmonious relations between the various agencies and organizations working with rural people, the meeting was adjourned.

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**Note:** A total of 430 persons registered at the joint meetings of the Rural Sociological Society and the American Sociological Society held in Cleveland, Ohio, March 1-3. Of these persons, 81 checked membership in the Rural Society, and 49 did not check membership in either society. There were 244 persons at the joint dinner meeting, and 69 persons at the special luncheon of the Rural Society.

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**Proposed National Science Foundation.** The Subcommittee on War Mobilization of the Committee on Military Affairs in the Senate has reported on the proposal to establish a National Science Foundation and the extensive hearings which it held late in 1945. Following these hearings, there was introduced into the Senate a new bill, S. 1720, by Senators Kilgore, Johnson of Colorado, Pepper, Fulbright, and Saltonstall. The new bill provides for the establishment of a National Science Foundation to be administered by an administrator who is to be a full-time Government employee. The Foundation is to have eight divisions: Mathematical and physical sciences, biological sciences, social sciences, health and medical sciences, national defense, engineering and technology, scientific personnel and education, publication and information.

The Foundation as well as the separate divisions are to have advisory committees to assure the active participation in the work of the Foundation by large numbers of scientists who cannot give full time. The bill provides for the support of research and development through contracts and grants to universities, foundations, and Government agencies. It is explicitly pointed out that the Foundation shall not limit research activities of existing Government agencies nor interfere with the administration of their research programs.

The bill also provides for the establishment of scholarship and fellowship programs at the undergraduate, graduate, and post-doctoral levels. It provides for the maintenance of a register of scientific personnel. It provides for the wide dissemination of research findings and requires positive steps by the administrator to eliminate any restraints of scientific freedom. It also provides for participation in international scientific societies and in international research projects.

The full text of the bill along with the earlier bill, S. 1297, a report of the Committee, and an analysis of the new bill are included in Subcommittee Report No. 7 submitted December 21, 1945.

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**Regional Sociological Societies.** The Midwest Sociological Society held its annual meeting at Des Moines, Iowa, May 4 and 5.

The first regular annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society since 1941 was held at San Jose, California, April 19 and 20. The central theme of the conference was race relations on the Pacific Coast.

The Southern Sociological Society held its annual meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, May 17 and 18.

---

**Colorado A. & M. College.** James G. Hodgson, librarian, announces that the Rocky Mountain Rural Library Institute will hold its 1946 session from August 19 to 31, at the Cameron Pass Club Camp, 80 miles west of Fort Collins. The institute is spon-

sored by the Colorado A. & M. College and the School of Librarianship of the University of Denver. The current session is to be centered on the influence of geography, population distribution, and other factors on the organization of rural library services in areas typical of the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains.

---

**Iowa State College.** A study of Ph.D. training in rural sociology has been initiated by Ray Wakeley. The major objective is to describe the content and method of graduate training for Ph.D. candidates in sociology with a specialty in rural sociology. Rural and general training will be compared. Ways will be indicated by which training of sociologists can be made more effective in meeting present and prospective needs. The study was undertaken as part of the work of the Committee on Teaching of the Rural Sociological Society. It is supported jointly by Iowa State College and the Social Science Research Council.

Another project on which Professor Wakeley has worked recently is the development of rural sociology in the Mid-West. He had an article on this topic in the December, 1945, issue of *The Mid-West Sociologist*, official publication of the Mid-West Sociological Society.

A rural religious census of Iowa counties is now under way sponsored jointly by the Iowa Christian Rural Fellowship, The Rural Church Committee of the Iowa Council of Churches, and Iowa State College. Calvin Schnucker, Dubuque University, is directing the research. W. H. Stacy and Ray Wakeley are active for the college. On April 1, twelve counties had completed their survey and thirty additional counties were in progress. Church denominations, farm organizations and civic groups are actively working under a research committee in each county organized usually with the aid of the County Ministerial Association. Two copies are made of each schedule, one for the use of the local church and community leaders

and the other for research analysis on a state and county basis.

Reuben Hill is completing the field work on his study of the family adjustments of married service men to crises of separation and reunion. Interviewers on this project are Elize Boulding and Bertha Whitson. Miss Whitson completed the work for the M.S. degree at Iowa State College in August, 1945. Valuable assistance is being given by Welfare Directors and family case workers who help locate the families and make some of the interviews.

Lewis Killian, M.A., University of Georgia, has joined the teaching staff in sociology. He was teaching assistant at the University of North Carolina before entering the U. S. Army, from which he recently was discharged as a Major, after spending two years in Iran. Killian is author of a monograph on rural youth in Georgia and was active in the rural youth program there.

The student Sociology Club planned an exhibit for the Annual All-College Veishea celebration in May. The exhibit included visual materials on population, community organization and race relations featuring the first 100 years of Iowa statehood and her present position in the United States and in the world.

---

**Virginia Polytechnic Institute.** B. L. Hummel, community organization specialist of the Virginia Agricultural Extension Service, is on leave of absence to serve as agricultural extension advisor to the Chinese government. He is visiting Shanghai, Chungking, and various provinces, after which he will make recommendations for the improvement and expansion of the agricultural extension work sponsored by the Chinese government in cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

W. W. Eure, formerly assistant community organization specialist of the Virginia Agricultural Extension Service, is in charge of the rural organization work in Virginia while Mr. Hummel is in China.

Mr. Eure recently was released from the U. S. Army as a Major after a service of four years, two of which were spent overseas, mainly in England, France and Belgium. All of his time in the army was in the Quartermaster Corps in various administrative positions. His last job was executive officer to the Chanor Base Section Quartermaster, located in Brussels, Belgium. His work as extension rural sociologist is primarily that of developing and strengthening county boards of agriculture with strong community committees and neighborhood leaders.

---

**U. S. D. A., Bureau of Agricultural Economics.** Carl C. Taylor, the newly elected president of the American Sociological Society, says a number of sociologists have evinced interest in foreign service assignments. Opportunities for foreign service are appearing frequently. One place where these opportunities and desires can be brought to focus is in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture. He suggests that sociologists interested in foreign service write Dr. Olen E. Leonard, Acting Head of Extension and Teaching Division, OFAR, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C., and specify in which countries they are especially interested and in which languages they have special qualifications.

Marshall Harris, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, is on leave until March 1, 1947, to prepare a book based upon his doctoral dissertation entitled "The Genesis of the Land Tenure System of the United States," which was completed at the University of Illinois in 1942. The project is being financed by a private foundation and the fund will be administered by Duke University. Most of the year will be spent in the Library of Congress; the remainder at Duke University.

**U. S. D. A., Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations.** Glen L. Taggart returned recently from El Salvador where he made a study of a rural area located in the vicinity of Santa Tecla where there is an

Agricultural Experiment Station operated cooperatively by the Government of El Salvador and the United States. The purpose of the study was to point up rural social and economic problems and to determine the nature of community social organization in order to utilize and/or develop channels through which to work for the purpose of extending agricultural techniques and crops from the experiment station to the farm people. The data are in the process of analysis and will be written up within a few months.

Olen E. Leonard left the last of March for La Paz, Bolivia. In cooperation with agriculturists of this office and of Bolivia a preliminary survey is to be made to determine a site or sites for a cooperative agricultural experiment station. After this survey is completed Mr. Leonard will remain in Bolivia for approximately five months assembling rural social organizational data in selected areas of the Republic to serve as basic informational materials to guide this office in their cooperative agricultural relations with Bolivia. Aiding Mr. Leonard in this study will be one or more Bolivian sociologists now in the employ of the Bolivian Ministry of Agriculture and Education.

---

#### UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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##### Washington, D. C.

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#### **THE THIRD INTER-AMERICAN CON- FERENCE ON AGRICULTURE**

The Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture was held at Caracas, Venezuela, July 24 to August 8, 1945. I attended in the capacity of an adviser to the United States delegation. The personnel of the conference was organized into six commissions, each concerned with problems related to a given topic. Each commission met daily and drew up whatever resolutions seemed advisable. These in turn were submitted to a Central Resolutions Committee of the Conference for study and recommendation before finally being acted upon by the General Assembly. The commissions were concerned with the following general topics:

Commission No. 1—Money and Agriculture.

Commission No. 2—Present Agricultural Production and Its Adjustments to the Post-war Period.

Commission No. 3—Foodstuffs and Raw Materials.

Commission No. 4—Markets and Transportation.

Commission No. 5—Agricultural Migrations in the Post-war Years.

**Commission No. 6—Agricultural Statistics.**

Ninety-eight resolutions dealing with many aspects of agriculture and rural life were passed by the Conference. Some of these resolutions have a very definite bearing on rural social problems and seem to indicate increasing interest in sociological problems on the part of the various governments.

Of the above topics, the one most nearly related to rural sociology is Commission Five. I was assigned to attend all of the sessions of this commission and as many of the sessions on agricultural statistics as possible.

Throughout the deliberations of Commission Five there appeared to be an eagerness to discuss materials more nearly related to the field of rural sociology than called for by the agenda. There was continuous reference to such topics as rural standards of living, rural housing, rural education, and rural health conditions. This became so evident during the course of the meetings that a resolution was finally drawn up requesting the Conference to recommend that a place for such topics be made on the program of the next Inter-American Conference on Agriculture and to give rural sociologists and home economists a definite part in preparing the agenda. A somewhat similar resolution had been introduced at the Second Conference on Agriculture held in Mexico City in 1942 which I also attended. It is to be hoped that in preparing the program for the next Conference, which is scheduled to take place before the end of 1948, this resolution will not be ignored. It is entitled "Improvement of Rural Life," and reads:

**WHEREAS:**

1. Living conditions vitally affect the health and working efficiency of people, and the human satisfactions to be derived from occupation and place of residence;

2. The esteem with which farming as a way of life is held depends upon

comparative levels of living of various population groups;

3. The advancement of standards of rural living and of agriculture requires community and governmental as well as family endeavor;

The Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture

**RESOLVES:**

To recommend that, in accordance with the recommendation of the Second Inter-American Conference on Agriculture held in Mexico in 1942, the agenda of the next Conference include as subjects for special consideration the importance to agriculture and the nation of improving home conditions and raising the standards of living of rural families, and consideration of methods by which this can be accomplished.

That rural sociologists, agricultural economists, home economists and other social scientists of each country be invited to assist in drawing up the agenda and preparatory materials, and to participate in the conference discussions.

Another very definite evidence that members of the Conference were interested in matters of rural sociological nature was the adoption of a resolution calling essentially for a program in each country similar to that carried on in the United States by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. The adopted resolution is entitled "Information Concerning the Rural Population," and reads:

**WHEREAS:**

1. The final objective of all programs for the furtherance of agriculture is essentially that of improving the living standards of the population;

2. Many rural families lack the knowledge, economic means, leisure and the necessary resources for a comfortable life;

3. Practically all the American nations are considering the adoption of

measures for creating services and other adequate means for the purpose of broadening opportunities for the education and recreation of the rural population;

**The Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture**

**RESOLVES:**

To recommend that, in order to establish a sound basis for improving rural life, each country of the American Continent initiate a program, directed through a national office, for collecting data, making periodic investigations and maintaining a permanent body of data relating to such matters as:

1. The composition, distribution and characteristics of the rural population.
2. Internal migration.
3. Housing conditions.
4. Health services and hygienic customs.
5. Food habits and needs.
6. Educational needs and services.

Among other resolutions of interest to rural sociologists was one to the effect that the Pan American Union call an Inter-American Conference on Farm Labor to discuss ways and means of improving working conditions of farm workers in the Americas.

Another resolution was concerned with the important problem of nutrition. It was entitled "Improved Human Nutrition," and reads:

**WHEREAS:**

1. The health, happiness, and prosperity of all peoples is closely linked with the foods which they consume;
2. The nutritional status of populations is dependent on:
  - (a) Adequate supplies of food;
  - (b) Properly balanced diets;
  - (c) Knowledge of what foods are most valuable nutritionally; and
  - (d) Ability to obtain adequate foods; and

3. These matters are of vital concern to all governments;

**The Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture**

**RESOLVES:**

**To recommend:**

1. That each nation:
  - (a) Discover what foods its people are eating and what is the nutritive value of their diets;
  - (b) Determine the nutritional requirements and the status of nutritional health of its people;
  - (c) Develop an educational program which will give people an appreciation of the value of good nutrition and the best methods of achieving adequate diets;
  - (d) Encourage home-production of nutritionally adequate food by farm and village families;
  - (e) Study methods of raising and importing food that will provide a national supply large enough and of the right kind for all people to be well fed;
  - (f) Study methods of improving the quality of the national food supply through the raising of nutritionally superior crops and livestock and the enrichment or nutritional improvement of the nation's foods;
  - (g) Study methods of raising the purchasing power of the nation's low-income consumers;
  - (h) Encourage a national school lunch program and other programs to improve the diets of the vulnerable groups (children, pregnant and nursing mothers) and of other persons who have insufficient means to get the kinds and quantities of food they need; and
  - (i) Develop a national nutrition policy and program which seeks to conquer both obvious and hidden hunger and to bring about higher

levels of nutritional health for all people; and

2. That all the American nations, through the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and through succeeding meetings of this Conference cooperate in the exchange of ideas and research findings which can be used to develop higher levels of nutrition, and that they should, in particular, inform the Pan American Union before the holding of the Fourth Inter-American Conference on Agriculture, concerning the fulfillment of paragraphs (a) and (b) of point 1 of this resolution.

A final resolution called for the organization of a section in the Pan American Union to deal with the problem of compiling, interpreting, and distributing available data concerning agricultural migrations and colonization in the Americas. This section would also maintain an advisory service to countries interested in migration problems.

Obviously, it is much easier to pass reso-

lutions than to put them into effect. Some of the resolutions were hastily prepared without consideration having been given to their adaptability to local conditions in the various countries. Others are sound and if put into effect would contribute to the welfare and understanding of rural life. Whether or not the resolutions will lie in the archives unheeded will depend upon how vigorously efforts are put forth to encourage the various countries to set up machinery for carrying them out. Some of the resolutions adopted in Mexico City in 1942 were presented again in 1945 without anything having been done about them in the meantime. Follow-up work is absolutely indispensable to the obtaining of desired results from these Inter-American Conferences.

I received the impression at this Conference that Latin America is ripe for the development of rural sociology and that if trained personnel were available rapid developments would take place in this field throughout the Americas in the near future.

N. L. WHETTEN.  
University of Connecticut.

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Volume XXVIII

MAY, 1946

Number 2

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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# Max Weber As Rural Sociologist

In Commemoration of the 25 Anniversary of his Death

Paul Honigsheim†

**Editor's Note:** This contribution by Professor Honigsheim is timely for two reasons: (1) it commemorates the 25th anniversary of Max Weber's death and (2) it deals with European rural problems which are of greatest importance at the present moment. Since Professor Honigsheim was one of Weber's closest friends and collaborators, and since his own field of speciality is social theory and history, having for many years taught, investigated in and contributed to the scientific literature of these disciplines he writes with real authority in the following article. From 1909 until the beginning of World War I he visited frequently with Max Weber. Afterwards Honigsheim continued in correspondence with Marianne Weber, wife of Max Weber. Among other things the author wrote the article "Zur Soziologie der Mittelalterlichen Scholastik" as a contribution to the *Symposium Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber*, Menchen und Leipzig, Dunker und Humboldt, 1923, edited in commemoration of Max Weber after his death, and published four articles dealing with Max Weber mentioned in footnote 1 of this paper.

## ABSTRACT

Max Weber is known in the United States as methodologist and pioneer in the field of sociology of religion. From the beginning of his scientific career he was also interested in and participated in rural sociological investigations.

This article, after an explanation of the man and character considers him as a rural sociologist, especially dealing with the following topics: (1) relation between seigniors and dependents, (2) entails or feoffment: in trust, (3) Polish minorities, and (4) the structure of rural Russia, before and after the collapse of Czarism.

## RESUMEN

Max Weber es conocido en los Estados Unidos como metodólogo y explorador en los campos de la sociología y la religión. Desde el principio de su carrera científica se interesó también y participó en investigaciones rurales sociológicas.

Este artículo, después de explicar al hombre y su carácter, lo considera como sociólogo rural, y trata especialmente de los siguientes tópicos: (1) Relación entre los dueños y sus dependientes, (2) mayorazgos o investiduras, (3) las minorías polacas, y (4) la estructura rural de Rusia antes y después de la caída del zarismo.

The United States will be obliged to participate in a decisive way in the rehabilitation of chaotic Europe in general, and of its rural life in particular. This task is inextricably connected with the political problems related to the penetration of the Soviets and their collective farms into central

and southeastern Europe. In this connection at least three types of rural organizations come into consideration: (1) Feudalism was and still is in existence in Germany, east of the Elbe, in Poland and in the Rumanian lowland, and was found in its extremist form until recently, as feoffment in trust (*Fideikommis*). This latter term denotes a relatively large estate,

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† Michigan State College.

being the property of a privileged family and, therefore, not able to be brought up for sale, even if the owning family is indebted. (2) The rural collectivity existed in the past as *Zadruga* in Serbia and as *Mir* in Russia and at the present time as *Artel* in the Soviet Republics. (3) The independent peasant's farm existed and exists to a greater or less extent in some parts of Eastern Europe, including Germany.

In the United States neither feudalism nor collective farms existed except in the South and in a few remote sectarian groups. Accordingly it may be difficult for Americans to appraise these European phenomena. Under such circumstances it may be of importance to know the viewpoint of Max Weber in regard to these problems, for he was one of the most outstanding among the German sociologists, economists, and politicians of the era before, during, and after World War I. Max Weber was very familiar with the United States, their economic and sociological viewpoint, through his studies and travels, and was, therefore, able to compare the Old and New Worlds. Both his friends and enemies agree in considering him a man of vast knowledge, keen methodological perception, incorruptible objectivity, and genuine sense of justice. While he was known in Europe as much for his rural sociological interests as for his researches in historical and theoretical fields, in the U. S. A. he is known almost exclusively, not as a rural sociologist, but as a methodologist

and pioneer in the field of the sociology of religion. He will be considered in this paper primarily as a rural sociologist. A few preliminary words on his personality and background may be in order at this point.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> After the death of Max Weber almost all of his publications have been collected and edited by his widow, Marianne Weber, in part with the help of friends. The volumes and the articles within them, coming into consideration for us, are the following: M. Weber, *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, Muenchen, Drei Masken Verlag, 1921, (Especially the following articles: "Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik," cited in the following footnotes "Nationalstaat," "Zwischen zwei Gesetzen," cited "Gesetz," "Bismarcks Aussenpolitik und die Gegenwart," cited "Bismarck," "Deutschland unter den europaeischen Weltmaechten," cited "Weltmaechte" "Deutschlands aeussere und Preussens innere Politik," cited "Deutschland," "Russlands Uebergang zur Scheindemokratie," cited "Russland," "Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland," cited "Wahlrecht," "Innere Lage und Ausserenpolitik," cited "Innere," "Politik als Beruf," cited "Politik"); *idem*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Muenchen und Leipzig, Duncker und Humboldt, 1923, cited "Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionsriss der Sozialoekonomik*, Vol. III., Tuebingen, Mohr, 1922, cited "Wirtschaft"; *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religioussoziologie*, *Ibid.*, 1921-1922, cited "Religion"; *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, *Ibid.*, 1922, (Especially the following articles: "Die Objektivitaet sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis," cited "Objektivitaet," "Der Sinn der Wertfreiheit der soziologischen und oekonomischen Wissenschaften," cited "Wertfreiheit," "Wissenschaft als Beruf," cited "Wissenschaft"); *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik*, *Ibid.*, 1924, (Especially the following articles: "Argarstatistische und sozialpolitische Berichtigungen zur Fideikommisfrage in Preussen," cited "Fideikommiss," "Der Sozialismus," cited "Sozialismus"); *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, *Ibid.*, 1924, (Especially the following articles: "Agrarverhaeltnisse im Altertum," cited "Agrarverhaeltnisse," "Die Sozialen Gruende des Unterganges der antiken Kulture," cited "Untergang," "Die laendliche Arbeitsver-

fassung," cited "Arbeit," "Entwickelungstendenzen in der Lage der ostelbischen Landarbeiter," cited "Entwickelung," "Der Streit um den Charakter der Altgermanischen Sozialverfassung," cited "Altgermanisch,") Publications dealing with Max Weber: Marianne Weber, *Max Weber, Ibid.*, 1926, cited "Marianne Weber;" the epistemological and methodological background is dealt with in the following publications: T. Abel, *Systematic Sociology in Germany*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 116-159; H. Becker, "Culture Case Study and Ideal-Typical Method; with special reference to Max Weber," *Social Forces*, Vol. 12 New York 11, New York, 1934, pp. 403f.; H. P. Jordan, "Some Philosophical Implications of Max Weber's Methodology," *Ethics*, Vol. 48, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 221-251; A. Liebert, "Max Weber," *Pfussische Jahrbuecher*, Vol. 210, Berlin, Stilke, 1927, pp. 304-320; J. P. Mayer, *Max Weber and German Politics*, London, Faber and Faber, Ltd., N. D., p. 30; H. Rickert, "Max Weber und seine Stellung zur Wissenschaft," *Logos*, Vol. 15, Tuebingen, Mohr, 1926, pp. 222-237; R. Wilbrandt, "Max Weber als Erkenntnistheoretiker der Sozialwissenschaften," *Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. 79, Tuebingen, Laupp, 1925, pp. 584-674. The whole personality, the religious and ethical background is dealt with in the following publications: C. Diehl, "The Life and Work of Max Weber," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 38, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1924, pp. 87-107; P. Honigsheim, "Max Weber als Soziologe," *Koelner Vierteljahrsschfe fuer Soziologie*, Vol. 1, Muenchen und Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1921; *idem*, "Der Max Weber-Kreis in Heidelberg," *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 1926, pp. 271-287; *idem*, "Max Webers geistesgeschichtliche Stellung," *Die Vorkwirte*, V. 29, *Ibid.*, 1930; *idem* "Max Weber," *Internationales Handwoerterbuch des Gewerkschaftswesens*, Berlin, Werk und Wirtschaft, 1932; E. Hula, "Max Weber Scholar and Politician," *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 134, London 1928; K. Jaspers, *Max Weber*, Oldenburg, Gerhard Stalling, 1932; K. Loewith, "Max Weber und Karl Marx," *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft*, Vol. 67, Tuebingen, Mohr, 1932, pp. 53-99, 175-214; J. P. Mayer, "Sociology of Politics," *The Dublin Review*, Vol. 207, London, Burns, Oates, and Washburn, 1940, pp. 188-196; A. Mettlei, *Max Weber und die philosophische Problematik unserer Zeit*, Zuerich, Elgg, N. D.; T. Parson, "Capitalism in Recent German Literature," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 36, Chicago, The University of Chicago

Max Weber was successively a lawyer, a teacher of Roman and Commercial law, and a professor of economics in Freiburg and Heidelberg. Because he was overworked and ill during 15 years while in Heidelberg, he neither taught nor appeared publicly. Later he re-entered politics during World War I and after the peace treaties for a short time before his death he was professor of sociology in Munich. The basic element of his spiritual life was a religiously founded ethical categorical imperative, which drove him to two duties: (1) to investigate scientific topics objectively, i.e., by eliminating personal bias and judgements of value within the historico-economico-sociological sphere,<sup>2</sup> and (2) to make individual decisions and remain loyal to his convictions in the spheres of religion, ethics, and politics.<sup>3</sup>

As a politician Max Weber shifted from moderate liberalism to a more radical democratic conviction which was not of a *laissez-faire* character, but which on the contrary led him to

Press, 1929, pp. 31-51; *idem*, "A. M. Robertson on Max Weber and His School," *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, 1935, pp. 688-696; A. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, A Criticism of Max Weber and his School*, Cambridge, The University Press, 1933; G. v. Schulze-Gaevertzitz, "Max Weber als Nationalökonom und Politiker," *Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe fuer Max Weber*, Vol. 1, Muenchen und Beipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1923, pp. XIII-XXI. No one of these publications deals especially with Max Weber as Rural Sociologist. The present author will deal with "Max Weber as Historian of Agriculture" in a special article.

<sup>2</sup> Objectivitaet, pp. 175-178; Wertfreiheit, pp. 485-502; Wissenschaft, pp. 542-555.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 543; Politik, pp. 440 f.; Gesetz, pp. 60-63.

work within the influential "Verein fuer Sozialpolitik" for state supported social policies. Oriented by his studies in the comparative history of rural life and institutions<sup>4</sup> he debated four rural political problems, three of which involved Eastern Germany: (1) the social situation of seigniors and dependents, (2) feoffment in trust, (3) Polish minorities, and (4) the structure of rural Russia before and after the collapse of Czarism. The discussion on the following pages is developed around these four topics.

I. *The Social position of seigniors and dependents* is to Max Weber a special case of the sociological phenomenon known as "feudalism." This is a pattern of social life, closely connected with one of Weber's three types of leadership, i.e., the traditional one. Here the leader is obeyed, neither because he is supposed to be a unique individual, nor because there exists a written law in an institutionalized society, making him a bureaucrat, but rather because of tradition.<sup>5</sup> Max Weber investigates and describes the sociological phenomena arising out of this traditionalistic feudalism, such as the special concept of honor and luxury, the denial of the calculating and capitalistic mentality, and the refusal to be involved in trade.<sup>6</sup> But independent of this general sociologico-classificatory interest, he had the special and practical interest in and aversion to the power of the Prussian "Junkers."

<sup>4</sup> *Agrarverhaeltnisse, passim; Untergang, passim; Altgermanisch, passim.*

<sup>5</sup> *Wirtschaft, pp. 130-139.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid., pp. 635, 732 ff., 750 ff.*

This situation he describes and judges as follows:

The feudal owners of large rural estates were the regular political leaders in the majority of rural societies in the past. In England<sup>7</sup> they have continued to the present time and in eastern Germany until recently.<sup>8</sup> Here actually the leading social class was scattered over the entire land; their castles and estates were centers of power and they themselves were political autocrats, economically self-satisfied, with little knowledge in economics and without much interest in business. Their subordinates<sup>9</sup> were not only domestic servants and valets in the manors of the seigniors, but were either permanent or transient rural workers, the latter being hired from surrounding villages. The former were not unmarried, but had families, and were obliged, if their families had too few workers, to hire themselves a substitute called "Scharwerker;" all these were largely paid in kind, which made them believe that they had the same economic interests as their employers. They accepted this traditional situation without any opposition owing to the indoctrination they had received for many generations.

Changes have occurred during recent decades<sup>10</sup> due to the higher standard of living of the bourgeois class in the cities. Especially now it was necessary for the Junkers to

<sup>7</sup> *Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p. 108; Wahlrecht, p. 307.*

<sup>8</sup> *Entwickelung, pp. 471, 474.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid., pp. 474, 479.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid., p. 472.*

maintain their social supremacy and to attempt to raise their own standard; but the manor, thus managed was not capable of maintaining the living standard of a noble family. The sons had to become officers in the army or members of very exclusive, and expensive student associations, and the daughters, in order to be married according to their rank, were supposed to have a big dowry. Thus the Junkers were obliged to become entrepreneurs with an increasingly "bourgeois" mentality and accordingly changed their attitude toward their subordinates.<sup>11</sup> The importance of perquisites decreased, while cash payments and the number of persons receiving them increased. The dependents also began to prefer this method although it was less secure but offered greater independency. They also began to develop antagonism toward the proprietor, even an inclination to class struggle and some of them emigrated to the cities to become factory workers. Last, but not least, the nobles felt themselves compelled to change the interrelationship between political power and economic status. Formerly they had based their political power on their unshaken and undisputed economic status; now they found it necessary to maintain their seriously threatened economic status through political power. The result was that they became an economic group which turned into a pressure group using political resources for economic class purposes.

This was done by enacting new state laws favoring the maintenance of the economic productivity of their estates especially by requiring laws protecting the feoffment in trust.

II. *The feoffment in trust*, according to Weber, although it had already been known in ancient Indies, was re-originated in Byzanz, where land, to avoid its confiscation by the Emperor, was transferred to the Church under the agreement that nine-tenths of the land rent be paid to the family. From the Greek-Roman Empire this institution shifted to the Mohammedans, with them to Christian Spain and from there to England and other Christian countries, including Prussia.<sup>12</sup> Here, under the pressure of the "Junkers," the government published in 1903 the draft of a new bill concerning feoffment. Immediately after its publication Max Weber, who had already shown an interest in the problem<sup>13</sup> and continued later to maintain his interest in this field,<sup>14</sup> collected material and published his criticism, protest, and his own program. He describes the situation as having existed hitherto as follows:<sup>15</sup>

Land which has relatively high and riskless rent, has a tendency to be incorporated into feoffments. This arose in considerable part because those capitalists who had all the money they wanted but desired security, desired to invest money in such land, in that way obtaining nobility

<sup>11</sup> Religion, Vol. III, p. 160; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p. 107; Wirtschaft, p. 743.

<sup>12</sup> Marianne Weber, p. 342.

<sup>13</sup> Deutschland, pp. 99-106.

<sup>14</sup> Fideikommis, pp. 329, 331 f., 369, 372 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 475 ff., 479 f., 489, 493; Arbeit, pp. 479 ff.

from the monarch, and gaining the opportunity of living on the standard of an highly esteemed "rentier." This possibility would even increase if through tariffs protecting the grain production, the land-rent of grain-producing land could be maintained and even increased.<sup>16</sup>

The draft of the new bill provided<sup>17</sup> for the possibility of the establishment of new feoffments with the king's permission and pretended to protect and strengthen by such measures the interest in family and home. In opposition to this, Weber asserts<sup>18</sup> that it is the intention of the government to combine protectionism with feoffments, thus to maintain, and to create artificially big estates, giving to the capitalistic bourgeoisie class the opportunity of becoming nobles, thus making them conservatives dependent upon the supporters of the monarchy, and allies of the declining eastern nobility. He opposes the new bill for this reason and believes—as he will also repeat later<sup>19</sup>—that the effects of existing feoffment are the following:<sup>20</sup> Capital which Germany should use in trade, is removed out of the World's trade and industry, peasants are driven from good to bad land; rural workers settle down definitively on or near to the feoffment's land, become again bound to the soil and in reality dependent upon the landlord, as happened in the feudal era; rural work-

ers not willing to accept such a situation, are induced to emigrate, and the owners themselves to hire foreign seasonal workers.

Under such circumstances, Weber had always opposed<sup>21</sup> every measure calculated to hinder rural workers from moving to the city or to return them back to their former rural districts, or to have them settle as small part time farmers on or near the large estates. He concedes<sup>22</sup> feoffments for only a small percentage of soil used mostly for forestry but insists that all the other feoffments, which already exist, or the establishment of which may be asked for, should be eliminated. As a transitory measure he requires<sup>23</sup> expropriation with compensation of the untenable large estates by the state, the conversion of this land in demesnes, the assignment on leave of the latter to crown-land-lessees, and the protection of the workers hired by and dependent upon these tenants with a contract which should be signed by both the state and the lessees.

The government became enraged at this sharp opposition and criticism by the Heidelberg Professor but felt itself impelled to withdraw the draft of the bill. Thus actually Weber was successful, but only to some extent, for neither his claim for abolition of feoffment nor the positive part of his program became realized, and the Polish minority problem in rural Eastern Germany also remained, the

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324-327.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 379, 381.

<sup>19</sup> Deutschland, pp. 100-104.

<sup>20</sup> *Fideikommiss*, pp. 357, 359, 391.

<sup>21</sup> *Arbeit*, pp. 459 f., 462 f.

<sup>22</sup> *Fideikommiss*, pp. 361, 378.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 466 ff., *Entwickelung*, p. 507.

other aspect of the feoffment question.

III. *The Polish minority in rural Eastern Germany* originated thus: By the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th Century, some of the Poles had become subjects and later citizens of Prussia and Germany respectively. Previously, reudalism in Poland had been even stronger than in Prussia and the latter had to some extent protected the Polish lower rural classes from the nobility which caused the Polish masses for some decades of the 19th Century to acquiesce to Prussian domination. With an increasing tendency toward Prussification and with a simultaneous development toward Russification, Polish Catholic propaganda arose against Prussian Protestantism and against Russian Greek-Orthodoxism, thus making the antagonism between the nations more acute. This manifested itself, among other things, in the Prussian laws, which restricted sharply the use of the Polish language in the Eastern provinces.

Max Weber had always strictly opposed anti-Polish language laws,<sup>24</sup> acknowledging at the same time the loyalty of the Poles in Upper Silesia,<sup>25</sup> but from the very beginning of his public appearance he likewise opposed the increasing Polonization of the East. Because of this and other reasons, he blamed the "Junkers" and the conservative party.<sup>26</sup> His ac-

cusation ran somewhat as follows: They give themselves an air of nationalism but actually sacrifice national good for their own socio-economic interests. These "Junkers" use hired Polish seasonal workers coming from Russian-Polish districts because of the cheapness of the labor and the absence of any obligation to furnish welfare assistance in time of need. Last, but not least, the feoffment in trust as they are, and most of all as they would be, if the bill mentioned in the previous section became law, would increase, for reasons mentioned above, the amount of seasonal workers, especially those of Polish descent. Only Poles<sup>27</sup> would be willing to settle on or near the large estates of the manor holders in the completely dependent form described above. Therefore Weber's twofold challenge:<sup>28</sup> Forbid the entrance of Polish seasonal workers, coming from Polish-Russia into Eastern-Germany and abolish the feoffments, especially for advancing Polish immigration. Apparently the national point of view plays a role in Weber's thinking but it is not the most important. This emphasis upon the national viewpoint comes to light here because he considered it his duty to labor where God or destiny had put him; and one of these values according to him is the nation. This national point of view was not the only one which led Weber to the anti-feoffment campaign, but rather it was his religiously-founded deep sympathy for the lower classes.

<sup>24</sup> Bismarck, p. 41 f., Weltmacht, p. 89.

<sup>25</sup> Wirtschaft, p. 225, 629.

<sup>26</sup> Nationalstaat, pp. 15 f., Bismarck, p. 41., Deutschland, p. 95., Marianne Weber, pp. 229 f., 237, 542.

<sup>27</sup> Fideikommiss, p. 360.

<sup>28</sup> Arbeit, p. 456 ff.

This feeling may help us to explain Weber's interest in the changes of Russian rural structure before and after the collapse of Czarism, which is regarded as his latest rural sociological interest.

*IV. The rural structure of Russia* had always attracted Max Weber's attention. Even more than that, he had always been affected by the collectivity feeling of the Russian peasant, by the Greek-Orthodox Saint and the passive sufferer in the fictions of Dostoevski, and by Tolstoi's attempt to teach and to live a life conforming to the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Weber did not believe in the possibility of regulating state and politics according to those principles. On the contrary, he had emphasized more than anyone else the essentially tragic role of the politician because the latter was responsible for the future of his group or country. Thus, he could not act exclusively according to his own individual ethical conscience without taking the future into consideration; rather he had to act in regard to his responsibility and take upon himself the burden of becoming, ethically speaking, guilty and, religiously speaking, a sinner. Max Weber had been deeply touched by the problem and by Tolstoi's attempt to solve it in a way, different from his own. He had even planned to go beyond the occasional remarks and to write a book on this Russian disciple of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>29</sup> Under such circumstances,

one can hardly wonder that Russian rural life meant so much to him, not only after the great changes occurring during World War I, but even before. He had always been interested in and familiar with the history of agriculture and rural life. With this background he investigated Russian rural social structure in its uniqueness comparing it with that of other countries. His description may be summarized as follows:<sup>30</sup> The landed nobility was always dominant in the local government of the rural provincial districts and yet this same nobility did not have any organization of its own to protect itself from the Czarist government and to ameliorate its economic conditions. When the economic situation was insufficient to permit the members of an increasing family to make an adequate living they were, more than in other countries, compelled to cultivate connections and in that way obtain high positions in army and administration. They, therefore, became dependent upon the Czar and carried on only in the role of a court nobility. Much more than with this nobility, Weber was concerned with the lower-classes and with the rural collectivity, characterizing not exclusively the Russian but also the other Slavic language speaking peoples. Thus, the Serbian Zadruga was also of importance to him.<sup>31</sup> This south slavic form of rural collectivity had for a long time attracted the attention of historians of agri-

<sup>29</sup> *Gesetz*, p. 62 f., *Politik*, p. 441 f., *Wertfreiheit*, pp. 467, 469, 479.

<sup>30</sup> *Wirtschaft*, p. 720.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 398 f.

culture as well as that of politicians.<sup>32</sup> Even romantically minded anarchists had used it as an example to prove the truth of their own theory. Their arguments had been, that the Zadruga is a form of life, without any legal compulsion and that, if such a kind of existence were possible in Serbia it could also become a possibility elsewhere. Thus, for these Romanticists it would be a proof that any kind of legal compulsion is superfluous. Max Weber opposed such use of the existence of the Zadruga to justify anarchistic claims. He showed that where the Zadruga exists there also exists legal compulsion, even if not administered by the state, nevertheless carried out by a village community. On the other hand the fact that the Zadruga exists is for him important because it gives him an opportunity to demonstrate, in opposition to the state-idolaters, the possibility of a stateless legal coercion.

More than by the Zadruga, Weber felt himself attracted by an interest in the Russian Mir. The age of the Mir is controversial,<sup>33</sup> and he did not feel himself qualified to ascertain its exact age.<sup>34</sup> The Mir centers around

a village with houses built along a single street; the fields are divided into big areas and these are subdivided into long strips. The latter are allotted to the families, which are members of the Mir, according to the number of working members in every family. Periodically repartition takes place and there exists the right to re-participation in such a new partition for former members who having left the community had returned again.<sup>35</sup> The Czaristic minister, Stalypin, at the beginning of the 19th Century had instituted rural reform laws in opposition to these traditional mores. These laws made secession from such collectivity possible. Stalypin considered his measures liberal and favoring the independence of the peasants.<sup>36</sup>

Max Weber, studying, describing, and opposing this measure evaluated it in the following way:<sup>37</sup> The measure splits the peasants into two antagonistic groups with private owners seceding from the community and the others still remaining members of it. The tendency was for the peasants, like the veterinarians and other rural intellectuals increasingly to become adherents of the Social-Revolutionaries. These were the successors of the former Narodniki and like these a revolutionary party with less industrial and more rural inclinations, less internationally and more Russian-minded than the two Marxian groups, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks.

<sup>32</sup> For example, F. Engels, the socialistic collaborator of Karl Marx, in his book *Der Ursprung der Familie*, Stuttgart, Dietz, 11th edition, No. 11, pp. 48 f. and A. Meitzen, Max Weber's teacher in history of agriculture and in statistics, in his book *Siedlungen und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Roemer, Franken und Slaven*, Berlin 1896, Vol. 1. No. VIII, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> See the history of the theories concerning its age in A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europaeischen Kulturentwicklung*, Vol. 1, Wien, Seidel, pp. 40-44.

<sup>34</sup> *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 34.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f., *Wirtschaft*, p. 608.

<sup>36</sup> Russland, pp. 107 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The Heidelbergian sociologist had the opportunity to know intimately many Social-Revolutionaries who studied in his university and he considered their movement, socio-psychologically speaking, similar to a religious one. He admired these idealists, who were willing and ready, to make the greatest sacrifice for their convictions.<sup>38</sup> When Stalypin attempted to split the peasants by these measures, there appeared at the same time an attempt to split the adherents of the dangerous Social-Revolutionaries. It was especially for this reason that Weber opposed very passionately the reforms of Stalypin.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the attempt made by the latter was successful although only to some extent, since the Social-Revolutionaries remained one of the most important revolutionary parties, especially immediately after the abdication of the Czar. Their more moderate right wing became, in coalition with the right winged Marxians, the Mensheviki, for a short period the rulers of Russia who had as their immediate problem peace with Germany or continuation of the war.

Since the beginning of World War I, the Heidelbergian sociologist, because of convictions which he continued to hold, had advocated peace without any annexations.<sup>40</sup> However, he doubted that the government led by Kerenski who was the leader of the right winged Social-Revolutionaries, would be willing and able to

carry this out, especially because of the new rural problems in Russia. Weber considered<sup>41</sup> the Russian peasants of that period to be almost exclusively interested in the expropriation of the property of the rural proprietor of non-peasant origin. He reasoned as follows: They desire to leave the army, return home and enjoy peace; this is also the desire of the Social-Revolutionaries, who are dependent upon these peasants. But all groups, interested in individual rural property, are interested for the same reason in hindering the return of the revolutionary-minded peasants. To keep the peasants from returning, these groups must prefer war to peace, because the latter would bring the peasants back. Within these anti-peasant and anti-social-revolutionary groups there are (in addition to the independent peasants already mentioned, who left the Mir following Stalypin's reform) numerous "bourgeois," who invested money in rural property for its comparatively high degree of security. Included also in these groups are the bankers, and last but not least, similar groups outside of Russia upon whom the Kerenski government is dependent for financial support. It is for this reason that the right winged Social-Revolutionaries, even though they desire peace are not able to promote it. They also are handicapped because of lack of support by the urban workers.<sup>42</sup>

The old pre-revolutionary antagonism between the Marxians of both

<sup>38</sup> *Wirtschaft*, pp. 295 f., 751. Russland, p. 117.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>40</sup> *Weltmaechte*, p. 76 f.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

nuances—Bolsheviki and Mensheviks—and the Social-Revolutionaries of both kinds—right and left winged—reappear. Even Plechanov, the old theoretician of the Mensheviks asserts that cheap bread is the first requisite and considers the peasant's claims as romantic and reactionary. The peasants, adherents of the Kerenski government, also do not agree with one another. As an illustration,<sup>43</sup> within one smaller political unit the partition of land may give to every peasant only six hectares while in the neighboring one, fifteen hectares. In such cases the peasants living within the first one of these two units will insist on equal partitions of the land and, of course, want to base the division on the larger political unit, thus forcing those who hoped for fifteen hectares to get less. The peasants on the other hand who live within the second area, where the fifteen hectare unit is hoped for, will insist on the monopolistic attribution of the good land of their own district only to themselves, excluding from the partition all land outside their own small unit and all the other peasants living together in the larger political unit. Finally,<sup>44</sup> the Kerenski government is still dependent on the Duma, i.e., the elected parliament still in existence. In the latter one there is a strong majority favoring the maintenance of the specific Russian supremacy over the many non-Russian rural minorities, such as Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, etc. This results

in another antagonism within the already weak government led by the social-revolutionary Kerenski.

Max Weber's prophecy that this government would not be inclined to make peace with Germany was true.<sup>45</sup> However, the later events have disproved his prophecy that the Bolshevik regime would not exist long.<sup>46</sup> To be sure, after it had been established, both—the Sovietists as well as Weber—had to face the problem of the rural collectively, the Artel, as it now was called, and its transferability to other parts of Europe. Our sociologist under consideration had always been free from any prejudice for or against private agricultural property or collectively owned land.<sup>47</sup> He considered the Artel adequate for a population like the Russian, which had always lived in an agrarian communism. The Western European peasant on the contrary sets his heart on hereditary property, fears the socialistic world, even prefers, when he feels himself endangered by the latter, to cooperate with the noble landlord. Therefore the probability of an imitation of the Russian pattern in Western Europe, is, according to Weber, not likely.<sup>48</sup>

This judgment is actually the last one within Max Weber's rural sociologico-political activity. The man, who, although ill and handicapped, nevertheless felt himself religiously and ethically bound to participate in public affairs has been hindered from

<sup>43</sup> *Innere*, p. 324.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>45</sup> Russland, p. 123.

<sup>46</sup> Sozialismus, p. 516.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

accomplishing his scientific as well as his political work by an untimely death. This work began with investigations in the field of the history of agriculture and rural life and embraced many fields, as indicated in the beginning of this paper. It was motivated by two viewpoints: (1) objectivity within the scientific field and (2) feeling of equity, justice, and re-

ligiously-founded brotherly love for the lowly, guiding his participation in the fields of politics and practical activity.

Both viewpoints—objectivity and brotherly love—were also Max Weber's guiding stars in that part of his activities, which was the least known in the United States, i.e., his activity in the field of Rural Sociology.

## Educational Selectivity of Rural-Urban Migration and Its Bearing on Wage and Occupational Adjustments\*

*By Paul H. Landis†*

### ABSTRACT

It is shown that rural youth migrating to urban areas are better educated than rural youth who remained behind but less well educated than urban youth with whom they take up residence; that urban youth moving to rural areas are less well educated than urban youth who remain in cities but are better educated than the rural youth with whom they compete occupationally in rural areas. In spite of initial educational disadvantages, rural youth migrating to cities excel urban youth with whom they compete in income. Urban youth, on the other hand, who move to rural areas, excel resident rural youth in income. Urban girls moving to rural areas are especially successful as measured by economic criteria. From the standpoint of status giving occupations rural youth moving to cities seem to be at a disadvantage, especially rural girls. They do however, achieve superior occupational and economic status to rural people remaining behind. Urban youth migrating to rural areas rate high in both financial and occupational success.

### RESUMEN

Ha sido demostrado que la juventud rural que emigra a las zonas urbanas está mejor educada que la juventud rural que se queda en el campo, pero menos educada que la juventud urbana con quien viven; que la juventud urbana que se cambia a la zona rural es menos educada que la juventud urbana que se queda en la ciudad, pero mejor educada que la juventud rural con la cual compiten profesionalmente en zonas rurales. A pesar de las desventajas iniciales, la juventud urbana que emigra a las ciudades sobrepasa a la juventud urbana con quien compiten en renta. La juventud urbana, por otro lado, que se cambia a las zonas rurales, sobrepasa en renta a la juventud rural residente. Muchachas urbanas que se cambian a zonas rurales tienen un éxito económico sobresaliente. Desde el punto de vista de encontrar ocupaciones, la juventud rural que se cambia a las ciudades está en una situación desventajosa,

especialmente las muchachas rurales. Ellas logran, a pesar de todo, conseguir un estado profesional y económico superior al de la juventud que se queda en el campo. La juventud urbana que emigra a las zonas rurales tiene un considerable éxito financiero y profesional.

The qualitative selection of migrants between rural and urban areas is an old problem for the sociologists, yet one of many phases of which surprisingly little is known. This paper does not purport to answer any substantial number of the unanswered queries, but does attempt to follow certain inquiries a step further than has usually been done. (1) It presents evidence on the selectivity, not only of migrants going to the city, but of those leaving the city for rural areas. The measure employed is the amount of education of migrants. While this may not be the best index of qualitative selection that might be employed, it is the one available for the group under observation.<sup>1</sup> (2) It makes an estimate of the economic success of the migrant between rural and urban territory with the stable urban and rural residents as a control group. (3) It compares the migrant with the non-migrant in terms of success in entering the more favored occupations.

For purposes of the analysis, four residence-mobility groups were considered: (1) rural youth who had grown up in and remained in rural

\* Scientific Paper No. 673, College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Stations, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

<sup>†</sup> Dean, Graduate School, State College of Washington.

<sup>1</sup> Data compiled for this analysis were collected for a study aimed at the broader phases of territorial and occupational mobility rather than the specific problem outlined herein.

areas, (2) rural youth who had migrated to urban areas, (3) urban youth who had grown up in and remained in urban areas, (4) urban-reared youth who had migrated to rural areas. This four-fold classification is made for each sex separately.

Data on territorial and occupational mobility were collected in the year 1942 by asking high school social science pupils and eighth grade pupils in the state of Washington to answer certain queries regarding their older brothers and sisters who had already left school. Migration was measured by difference between parental address in which the child answering the question still lived, and present address of the older brothers and sisters.<sup>2</sup>

Schools throughout the state in communities of every size from open country to metropolises cooperated in the study. In all, usable schedules were received for 16,732 youth.

*School Graduates in War and Depression Years.* Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 463, May, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly this is not always an accurate index of the older youth's mobility. In some cases it may reflect rather the mobility of the parent. Since, however, the measure of mobility for purposes of this study is the shift between rural and urban territory, it is likely that in the preponderant number of cases it does actually reflect the migration of youth who have left home. For a full statement of method and a more general analysis of many phases of territorial and occupational mobility see: Paul H. Landis, *The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth*, Bulletin No. 449, Youth Series No. 3, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, July, 1944.

### Educational Selectivity

In the state of Washington, approximately 90 per cent of young people enter high school and approximately 70 per cent graduate. Yet studies of the education of youth beyond high school age in Washington indicated a marked difference between urban and rural youth in total amount of education acquired. Studies<sup>a</sup> of the seven pre-war classes, those graduating during the years 1934-1941 inclusive, show that only 25.6 per cent of young men in communities of under 250 people continued their education beyond high school as compared to 48.4 per cent in cities of 100,000 or over. Of young women graduating in places of under 250 people, 35.9 per cent continued their schooling, while in metropolitan areas 45.9 per cent continued beyond high school. In the case of both young men and young women, the larger the town the greater the proportion who continued their schooling beyond high school.

In spite of this initial differential education of rural and urban youth, selective migration operates on the basis of education both in the movement of rural youth to urban areas and in the migration of urban youth to rural areas.

- Three indices of selection on the

basis of education are employed: (1) age at leaving school, (2) years of schooling, and (3) type of schooling. The dividing line between rural and urban areas used was the standard census classification, 2,500 people.

### Selective Migration in Terms of Age at Leaving School

Rural young men were less well educated than urban young men as measured by age at leaving school. The rural group moving to urban areas was also a selective group, having remained in school longer than the stable group (Table I). Of the young men who moved to cities, 55.7 per cent remained in school to 18 years or beyond, whereas only 47.1 per cent who remained in rural areas did so. In spite of this selectivity, the migrating group was less well educated as measured by years of leaving school than the urban group with whom they had to compete on arrival in the city. Of urban young men, 58.2 per cent continued in school to 18 years of age or beyond.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were only slightly superior in their education, as measured by age at leaving school, to the rural group moving to cities. This group was, however, much better educated than the rural group with which it had to compete in the country. The group migrating from urban to rural areas was, however, very small. This group was inferior to the urban-reared group remaining in cities.

The situation for young women was similar to that for young men in

<sup>a</sup> *Six Months After Commencement, An Analysis of the Occupational Roles of 133-651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes 1934 through 1941*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 420, September, 1942; *Washington High School Graduates in War and Depression Years*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 463, May, 1945.

all the classifications, except that the young women moving from towns and cities to the country were less selective than young men moving to the rural areas. They, in fact, had far less education than the stable urban group and somewhat less education than rural girls who moved to cities. They were, however, better educated in terms of years in school than the stable rural group with which they had to compete.

#### Selective Migration in Terms of Total Grades of Schooling

Grades of schooling completed is a better measure of education than age at leaving school since age at leaving school may be affected by retardation. Comparisons on this basis are made in Table II.

By this measure, the results even more clearly demonstrate selective migration from rural to urban areas. Rural young men remaining in the country were far less well educated than rural young men who moved to urban areas. At the two extremes these differences show up most. Of those moving to the cities, less than half as many had only an eighth grade education, and almost twice as many had 13 years or more education. Even at that, the rural group arriving in urban areas had less education than the urban young men with whom they had to compete.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were inferior in educational achievement to the urban group remaining in cities. In spite of this selectivity, the average education of

this group was about the same as that of the rural group which went to cities and far above that of the stable rural group with which they had to compete. It is significant, however, that more than three times as many young men migrate from rural areas to urban areas as from urban areas to rural areas.

Similar selectivity was indicated for young women migrating to cities as for young men. The group leaving the rural communities was better educated than the group remaining, although not as well educated as the urban group with which they had to compete on arrival in urban areas. Young women moving from urban areas to rural areas were not as well educated as young women remaining in cities, but were somewhat better educated than young women moving from the country to towns and cities and much better educated than the rural group with which they had to compete. In this exchange, the urban areas received more than four times as many young women as it returned to rural areas.

#### Selective Migration by Type of Schooling

A third measure of educational selectivity in rural-urban migration is that which is based on the type of school last attended. Presumably, the kind of school last attended is an index of the kind and quality of education, and also to some extent of vocational interest. A comparison of the various residence-mobility groups by sex is shown in Table III.

The first comparison deals with young men. It will be seen that twice as many of those who remained in the country as of those who moved to towns and cities had only an eighth grade education. A slightly larger per cent of those going into towns and cities had a high school education. Almost twice as many had attended college or normal school, and approximately twice as many had attended some other kind of special school such as a business or vocational school.

Even with this high degree of selectivity of rural young men moving to urban areas, their educational preparation was, for the most part, inferior to that of urban young men with whom they had to compete in urban areas. Although a slightly higher proportion of urban youth remaining in urban areas had only an eighth grade education, more than twice as many of them had the advantage of college or normal school.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were an inferior group compared to the urban group which they left. They were also slightly inferior to the group which left rural areas for cities, although superior in educational qualifications to the rural group with which they had to compete.

Assuming that the group leaving the rural area and that coming into the area were approximately equal in educational qualifications, the rural community still lost by the exchange since well over three times as many young men moved urbanward as moved ruralward.

The situation for young women was not quite so striking, although the migration was still highly selective. One of the unique characteristics of selectivity of rural girls was that almost twice as many of those leaving rural areas as of those who remained had training in special skills. Presumably, many of these young women obtained their training in special schools such as beauty, business or vocational schools after migrating.

Rural young women moving to towns and cities had inferior educational preparation in college and normal schools as compared with urban young women with whom they had to compete, but a slightly higher proportion had training in special skills.

The educational preparation of urban young women moving to rural areas was considerably superior to that of rural young women moving to towns and cities if one bases the comparison on college and normal school training. In fact, by this measure the urban group moving to the country was also superior to the stable urban group. This group is small and is influenced by the migration of urban young women to rural areas to accept their first jobs in teaching. (This view is substantiated by data presented later in Table VII.)

An extremely low proportion of young women moving from urban areas to rural areas had training in special skills that pointed directly to a vocation. This is as would be expected because of the lack of opportunity for those with business training, nurses training, beauty school employees, etc. in rural areas.

In summary, each of the three educational measures employed indicates the rural to urban migration is selective. The better trained young men or women from rural areas leave for urban areas in much larger proportions than do the poorly trained. Their training is approximately equal to that of the group migrating from the city to the country, but the exchange is a net loss to rural communities since more than three times as many young men and more than four times as many young women move urbanward as move ruralward.

Data on which analysis is based do not permit an answer to the question of whether these migrating rural young people get their superior education before or after migrating to cities. Presumably many finish their education in cities and fail to return to rural areas. The fact remains that the rural area loses its most educated sons and daughters in the process.

#### Promptness in Obtaining a Job in Relation to Migration

Presumably, educational preparation and migration affect occupational experience and income level. Data of this study permit comparison of the four residence-migration groups under consideration with regard to time elapsing between the completion of their schooling and obtaining their first job, rate of pay on the first job, and pay received on the 1942 job (the job held at the time of study in the Spring of 1942).

Comparison of young men and young women of the four residence-

migration groups by the length of time elapsing between leaving school and first job is made in Table IV. It will readily be seen that the lag between the time of completing school and of obtaining a job for most rural young men who remain in rural areas was very short. Approximately 69 per cent of the sample obtained their first job within a month. The lag for none of the four classifications was particularly great.

Young women experienced a greater time lag in obtaining their first job than did young men, but again there were no marked differences in the groups compared. The urban group moving to rural areas seem to have achieved earlier occupational placement than average, however, the group was relatively small.

#### Income in Relation to Migration

Occupational success is measured to quite an extent by income, particularly because income is one of the best indices of level of living which is in turn directly related to social status. In Table V a comparison of the four residence-mobility groups is made of the average income on their first job and on the 1942 job. The average person in the group had been out of school five years; the majority fell in the range from ten years to one year out of school.

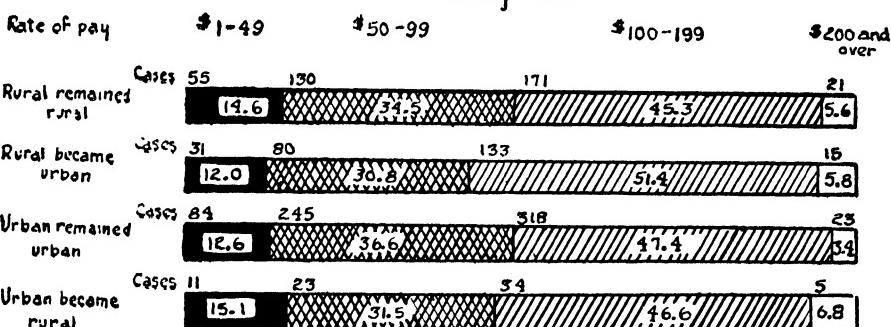
It will be seen that rural young men moving to urban areas made an immediate income gain and also progressed to a higher salary with experience than did the group remaining in rural areas. It is also a striking

fact that the rural group moving to cities excelled the average income group of young men in cities, both on the first and on the 1942 job. When one considers that the rural group moving to cities was at a disadvantage educationally, this seems especially significant. Apparently the group has other qualities which more than compensate for the lack of educational advantage. Perhaps it is that rural youth from childhood up are in contact with the work world of adults and acquire a philosophy which makes for successful work experience. City children have few chores and little contact with adults in their work life.

Young women who moved from rural areas to urban areas also excelled their stable country sisters in their first wage and in progress to a better than average wage. Rural young women in urban areas also excelled the urban girls who remained in cities in their first wage but not in their advancement to a better wage. Urban young women moving to rural areas excelled their stable urban sisters and the rural young women with whom they competed on initial wage and in advancement to a better wage. They did not equal the wages of rural girls in urban areas.

The comparison above, in terms of the average, may not be as significant as the comparison between the stable and the mobile groups.

### Young Men



### Young Women

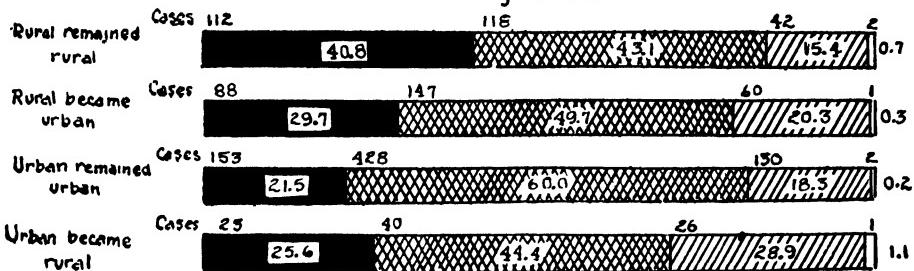


Figure 1.

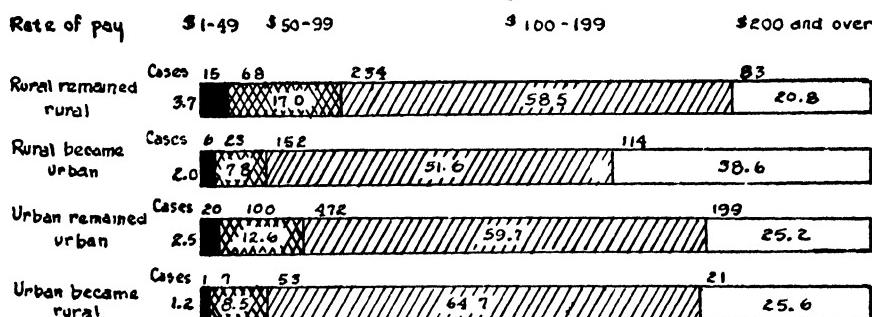
cant as comparisons in terms of broad income groups. Comparisons are, therefore, made in figures 1 and 2 by broad income classification. Figure 1 deals with wage classifications on the first job. Fewer of the migrating rural than of the stable rural group were in the lower income brackets and more were in the higher income brackets. Rural young men moving into cities exceeded their urban competitors in income. A smaller proportion of them fell in the lower income ranges and a higher proportion in the higher income ranges.

Of urban young men moving ruralward, an undue proportion fell in both extremes as compared to the

stable urban group. As compared to the stable rural group more were in the lowest income class, but more also were in the two upper income levels.

A far higher proportion of girls moving from rural to urban areas fell in the higher income brackets on their first job than of those remaining in rural areas. A higher proportion of them also fell in the upper income brackets than of the urban group with which they competed. Urban girls moving to rural areas excelled all other residence-migration groups in proportion who received the highest incomes. Of the stable rural group, over 40 per cent began work at a wage of less than \$50 per month.

### Young Men



### Young Women

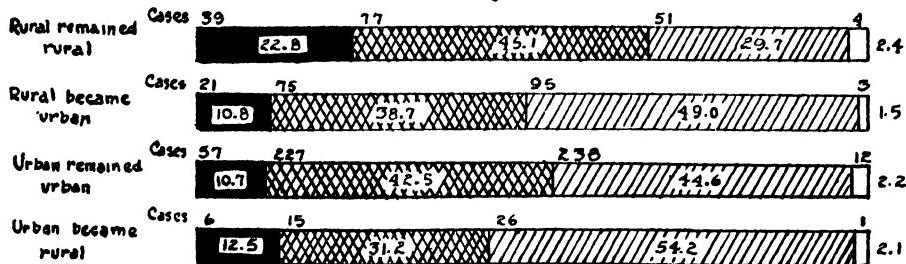


Figure 2.

The situation after work experience is shown in Figure 2 which presents data on wages received on the 1942 job. In comparing young men on this basis, it will be seen that the rural group which moved to urban areas far surpassed in income young men who remained in rural areas. It will also be seen that urban young men who moved to rural areas gained some advantages over young men who remained in cities.

It is a striking fact that rural young men after experience on the job far excelled their urban-born and -reared competitors in earnings. A much higher proportion achieved the higher income levels, and a much lower proportion remained in the lower income levels. This is made more significant by the lack of schooling advantage of the rural group.

The situation for young women is shown in the lower part of the chart. It will be seen that young women moving to towns and cities far surpassed in income their rural sisters who stayed in the country, even though a slightly higher proportion of those who remained in the country attained the top income level. Approximately 68 per cent of those who stayed in rural areas remained under the \$100 income level, whereas of the group moving to cities half reached the \$100 per month income level.

Rural young women in cities excelled their urban competitors in the proportion attaining more than \$100 incomes. Young women who moved from urban to rural areas achieved a higher income level after experience

on the job than any other residence-mobility group. However, the number of cases involved (48 cases) in this instance is too small to be conclusive.

In conclusion, it seems evident that rural youth migrating to cities, in spite of inferior school preparation, have other qualities which help them achieve an income level superior to that of urban youth with whom they compete on arriving in the city. Rural young people who migrate also far excel in income the country-reared who remain in the country. The income motive for urbanward migration of rural youth is clearly not an illusion. While one cannot conclude from these data that young people who migrate from rural to urban areas make more than they would had they remained in the country, it seems likely that they do. Being a more able group, as measured by education, than those remaining in rural areas, they might have made more money there than those who remained in rural areas, but it is likely that the transfer to urban areas opened opportunities for their more lucrative employment.

#### Migration and Occupational Adjustment

The occupational level of youth indicates to some extent their success in occupational adjustment and is also a reflection of their social status. In Table V, young men and young women in the four residence-mobility classifications are compared as to their initial jobs. It will be seen that rural young men moving to urban

areas have a decided advantage over those remaining in rural areas as far as entering the professions, becoming proprietors, clerical workers, craftsmen, and domestic service workers is concerned. More of those remaining in the country begin as farmers or farm workers and as laborers.

If one thinks of domestic and service occupations and common labor as being at the low end of the socio-economic scale, those moving to the city are better off as a group than those remaining in the country in that a smaller proportion begin their occupational life as common laborers or service workers than do those remaining in the country.

Of young women who move from rural areas to cities, a considerably higher per cent enter the professions than of city-reared young women who remain in cities. By far the highest per cent of those entering the professions, however, are urban young women who move to rural areas. Of rural young women moving to cities 44.6 per cent enter the clerical field; 38.7 per cent enter domestic and service occupations. This is a much higher ratio than of urban girls in the domestic and service field. A still higher per cent of young women who remain in rural areas begin their work life in the domestic or service field. Considerably fewer of those who remain in rural areas take their first job in the clerical field than of those who go to urban areas. Urban young women who remain in urban areas far excelled all other groups in the proportion entering clerical occupa-

tions, over half of them taking their first job in this field. More of them also begin their work life as laborers in urban industries than of any other group.

The initial job may not be an adequate index of occupational adjustment since the first job may be a stepping stone to a more satisfactory occupation. In Table VI a comparison similar to that for the first job is made for the job held at the time of the study in the spring of 1942. This was after an average of five years out of school. On the basis of this comparison, young men who had gone to cities were still holding professional positions in a much higher percentage of cases than young men who remained in rural areas. They, however, fell considerably below urban young men who had remained in cities and far below young men moving from urban areas to rural areas in the proportion engaged in the professions.

Rural young men going to cities, in a far higher proportion of cases, remained in domestic and service positions than was the case of urban young men.

The comparison for young women in the various residential classifications shows that rural young women who moved to urban areas held professional positions in a higher proportion of cases than either the stable urban or stable rural group, but in a much lower proportion of cases than of urban young women who moved to the country.

Domestic and service occupations occupied more than three-fourths of rural young women who remained in rural areas and almost as many of those who moved to urban areas. Rural young women found themselves in these occupations more often than either of the urban residence-mobility groups. This suggests that rural young women are probably at some disadvantage in competing successfully for the better positions with better trained urban young women.

In summary, from the standpoint of income both on the first job and after work experience, the rural group has a decided advantage over the group remaining in the country and even excels in earnings the better schooled competing urban group

with which they take up their residence. From the standpoint of attaining jobs or positions that represent prestige and social status they excel the stable rural group, but do not equal the stable urban group with which they compete. The girls migrating from rural areas to cities are especially disadvantaged from this standpoint.

Urban youth migrating to rural areas are a select occupational-income group. Although a less able group than that which they leave, they do better financially and occupationally. They compete in rural areas against a group with much less training and therefore easily excel them in obtaining positions of better status and income.

TABLE I. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND BY AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL.

Young Men

Residence Mobility class	0-17 years		18 years and over		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Rural remained rural	1143	52.9	1020	47.1	2163	100.0
Rural became urban	666	44.3	837	55.7	1503	100.0
Urban remained urban	1048	41.8	1461	58.2	2509	100.0
Urban became rural	131	42.9	174	57.1	305	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	1033	51.2	985	48.8	2018	100.0
Rural became urban	817	44.2	1032	55.8	1849	100.0
Urban remained urban	739	31.7	1597	68.3	2336	100.0
Urban became rural	187	46.1	219	53.9	406	100.0

TABLE II. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND GRADES OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	1-8 grades		9-11 grades		12 grades		13 grades and over		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Rural remained rural	515	22.5	523	22.8	1086	47.5	164	7.2	2288	100.0
Rural became urban	177	11.1	387	24.3	839	52.6	191	12.0	1594	100.0
Urban remained urban	240	9.0	681	25.4	1357	50.7	398	14.9	2676	100.0
Urban became rural	50	15.3	82	25.2	151	46.3	43	13.2	326	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	272	12.9	464	22.0	1181	55.9	196	9.2	2113	100.0
Rural became urban	143	7.4	331	17.3	1147	59.9	295	15.4	1916	100.0
Urban remained urban	145	5.2	515	18.5	1618	58.0	509	18.3	2787	100.0
Urban became rural	33	7.7	84	19.6	242	56.6	69	16.1	428	100.0

TABLE III. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND TYPE OF SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Grade	College and Normal School				Others*		Total		
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	
Rural remained rural	503	21.6	1632	69.9	149	6.4	48	3.1	2332	100.0
Rural became urban	175	10.9	1194	74.0	179	11.1	64	4.0	1612	100.0
Urban remained urban	238	14.1	1017	60.1	383	22.6	53	3.2	1691	100.0
Urban became rural	47	14.4	231	70.6	41	12.5	8	2.5	327	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	264	12.4	1605	75.3	144	6.8	118	5.5	2131	100.0
Rural become urban	143	7.4	1412	73.4	164	8.5	206	10.7	1925	100.0
Urban remained urban	140	5.0	2053	73.0	340	12.1	277	9.9	2812	100.0
Urban became rural	34	7.9	316	73.9	59	13.8	19	4.4	428	100.0

\* Nurses training, business, beauty, vocational, parochial, etc.

TABLE IV. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND LENGTH OF TIME BETWEEN LEAVING SCHOOL AND FIRST JOB.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Under 1 month		1 to 6 months		7 to 12 months		18 months or more		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Rural remain rural	341	68.7	59	11.9	50	10.1	46	9.3	496	100.0
Rural became urban	216	64.1	52	15.4	87	11.0	32	9.5	337	100.0
Urban remained urban	588	67.8	131	15.1	91	10.5	57	6.6	867	100.0
Urban became rural	86	78.2	8	7.3	4	3.6	12	10.9	110	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	250	62.3	67	16.7	42	10.5	42	10.5	401	100.0
Rural became urban	267	63.0	70	16.5	44	10.4	43	10.1	424	100.0
Urban remained urban	569	59.2	176	18.3	125	13.0	91	9.5	961	100.0
Urban became rural	88	71.0	19	15.3	10	8.1	7	5.6	124	100.0

TABLE V. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND THE AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES RECEIVED ON THEIR FIRST JOB AND THEIR 1942 JOB.

Residence— Mobility group	First Job		1942 Job	
	Young Men	Young Women	Young Men	Young Women
Rural remained rural	\$103.45	66.74	\$144.60	\$ 82.47
Rural became urban	111.24	94.79	174.60	96.16
Urban remained urban	102.14	72.86	144.35	97.84
Urban became rural	108.42	74.36	162.51	101.06

TABLE VI. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFICATION BY RESIDENCE GROUPS AND THEIR FIRST OCCUPATIONS.

		Young Men								
Residence— Mobility class		Profes- sional	Farmers and Farm Workers	Proprietor	Clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Domestic and Service	Laborers	Total
Rural remained rural	Number	11	160	3	41	53	96	13	128	505
	Per cent	2.2	31.7	0.6	8.1	10.5	19.0	2.6	25.3	100
Rural became urban	Number	18	32	4	56	64	62	32	70	338
	Per cent	5.3	9.5	1.2	16.6	18.9	18.3	9.5	20.7	100
Urban remained urban	Number	41	91	17	190	146	163	67	164	879
	Per cent	4.7	10.4	1.9	21.6	16.6	18.5	7.6	18.7	100
Urban became rural	Number	8	30	0	22	20	17	5	16	118
	Per cent	6.8	25.4	0.0	18.6	17.0	14.4	4.2	13.6	100
 Young Women										
Rural remained rural	Number	45	16	2	144	2	6	246	18	479
	Per cent	9.4	3.3	0.4	30.1	0.4	1.2	51.4	3.8	100
Rural became urban	Number	52	0	3	204	2	5	177	14	457
	Per cent	11.4	0.0	0.7	14.6	0.4	1.1	38.7	3.1	100
Urban remained urban	Number	88	6	5	566	11	16	314	75	1081
	Per cent	8.1	0.6	0.5	52.4	1.0	1.5	29.0	6.9	100
Urban became rural	Number	33	2	0	46	0	0	55	11	147
	Per cent	22.4	1.4	0.0	31.3	0.0	0.0	37.4	7.5	100

TABLE VII. WASHINGTON YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE GROUPS AND BY THEIR 1942 OCCUPATION.

		Young Men						Young Women			
Residence— Mobility class		Farmers and Farm Workers		Proprietor		Clerical	Craftman	Operative	Domestic and Service	Laborers	Total
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Rural remained rural	Number	36	59.5	39	10.6	182	249	189	521	1917	1917
Rural remained rural	Per cent	1.9	31.0	2.0	5.5	9.5	13.0	9.9	27.2	100	
Rural became urban	Number	45	69	44	13.3	306	150	360	290	1397	1397
Rural became urban	Per cent	3.2	4.9	3.2	9.5	21.9	10.7	25.8	20.8	100	
Urban remained urban	Number	87	134	82	25.7	358	222	371	477	1988	1988
Urban remained urban	Per cent	4.4	6.7	4.1	12.9	18.0	11.2	18.7	24.0	100	
Urban became rural	Number	29	77	10	17	40	41	21	65	300	300
Urban became rural	Per cent	9.7	25.6	3.3	5.7	13.3	13.7	7.0	21.7	100	
Rural remained rural	Number	70	42	8	243	2	5	1452	60	1882	1882
Rural remained rural	Per cent	3.7	2.2	0.4	12.9	0.1	0.3	77.2	3.2	100	
Rural became urban	Number	88	9	9	356	6	12	1317	36	1833	1833
Rural became urban	Per cent	4.8	0.5	0.5	19.4	0.3	0.7	71.8	2.0	100	
Urban remained urban	Number	107	10	14	748	12	14	1589	80	2574	2574
Urban remained urban	Per cent	4.2	0.4	0.5	29.1	0.5	0.5	61.7	3.1	100	
Urban became rural	Number	27	10	4	14	13	18	162	5	253	253
Urban became rural	Per cent	10.7	4.0	1.6	5.5	5.1	7.1	64.0	2.0	100	

# The Composition of the Population of Oklahoma Villages\*

By John C. Belcher†

## ABSTRACT

The racial, age, and sex composition of the inhabitants of the 445 incorporated centers in Oklahoma having populations of less than 2,500 is analyzed for the purpose of obtaining a better conception of these little studied demographic characteristics of villagers. From this analysis the following findings are reached:

1. Racially the village population is more homogeneous than any of the other residential groups being composed overwhelmingly of native whites.
2. There is a distinct increase in the proportion of Negroes among villagers as the size of the village increases.
3. The most striking feature of the age composition is the high proportion of old people, especially of elderly women.
4. As villages decrease in size, the proportion of aged persons increases markedly.
5. Villages are predominantly the home of females.
6. There seem to be no fundamental differences between the sex structure of the village and that of the urban population.

## RESUMEN

Se analiza la composición racial, de edades, y de sexo de los habitantes de 445 centros incorporados en Oklahoma que tienen una población de menos de 2,500 para obtener un concepto mejor de los rasgos demográficos característicos de estos aldeanos tan poco estudiados. De este análisis se deduce lo siguiente:

1. Racialmente la población aldeana es más homogénea que la de ningún otro grupo residencial compuesta en su inmensa mayoría de naturales blancos.
2. Hay un aumento evidente en la proporción de negros entre los aldeanos según aumenta el tamaño de la aldea.
3. El aspecto sobresaliente de la composición de edades es la gran proporción de gente vieja, especialmente mujeres.
4. La proporción de los viejos aumenta marcadamente según las aldeas disminuyen en tamaño.
5. Las aldeas son predominantemente el domicilio de las mujeres.
6. No parece haber ninguna diferencia fundamental entre la estructura de sexos de la aldea y la de la población urbana.

A large portion of the inhabitants of the United States live in small population centers. More than seven per cent dwell in the incorporated aggregates having less than 2,500 population. Countless others live in unincorporated villages. Practically nothing of a demographic nature, how-

ever, is known about this important segment of the population of the nation which resides in villages.<sup>1</sup>

In the past it has been almost impossible to make large scale statistical studies of the composition of the population of villages because of the

\* This paper is based on a thesis written at Louisiana State University under the direction of T. Lynn Smith.

† University of Wisconsin.

<sup>1</sup> In this study a village is considered to be any population center with a population of less than 2,500. This study, however, deals only with the population of the incorporated villages.

difficulty in securing data. Now the 1930 and 1940 Censuses of the United States provide valuable data for each village in the nation having a population between 1,000 and 2,500. For Oklahoma it is possible also to obtain similar data for all incorporated centers having less than 1,000 inhabitants. The census gives information on age, sex, and race for the population of each minor civil division in the United States. In most states villages are parts of more extensive civil divisions. In Oklahoma, on the other hand, each incorporated center is a distinct minor civil division; thus, census data are available for the populations of incorporated villages of all sizes,<sup>2</sup> whereas data can be obtained only for the incorporated villages having more than 1,000 inhabitants in most states.

This is a study of the composition of the population of the 445 incorporated centers in Oklahoma having less than 2,500 inhabitants. Because of the limitations of the census data, the only characteristics of these villagers which will be discussed are: (1) race, (2) age, and (3) sex.

*Racial Composition:* Very little has been written about the racial composition of the inhabitants of America's villages; yet, in American life racial differences have been, and continue to be, very important. Cultural features such as religion, education, and language are closely linked with race.

To this factor may be traced many of the important cleavages in our society. The racial composition of those living in Oklahoma villages is studied by analyzing the race and nativity makeup of the village population as a whole and comparing it with the racial composition of those living in other residential categories. Then, an attempt is made to discover differences in the race and nativity characteristics of the population of the various sizes of incorporated centers.

1. Total Village: The residents of the villages of Oklahoma are overwhelmingly white. In fact, 93.6 per cent of those living in these small incorporated centers are members of the white "race." In addition to the whites there are appreciable numbers of Indians and Negroes.

The village population of the state is even more homogeneous racially than one might assume from the preceding figure. Of those living in villages, 92.7 per cent are native white while only 0.9 per cent are foreign born white. Therefore, only one out of every fourteen people living in

TABLE I. RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS RESIDENTIAL GROUPS IN OKLAHOMA, 1940.

Residential Group	Percentages			
	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
State Total	89.2	0.9	7.2	2.7
Rural-nonfarm				
Village	92.7	0.9	4.7	1.7
Non-Village	88.1	0.7	6.8	4.4
Urban	88.9	1.1	9.1	0.9
Rural Farm	88.6	0.7	6.4	4.8

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II.*

<sup>2</sup>In addition to Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin treat the smaller incorporated villages as separate civil divisions. Therefore, census data for small villages are available for these states.

these population aggregates is other than native white.

It may be seen (Table I) that the largest minority group in the state is the Negro, but only 4.7 per cent of those living in the small incorporated centers are of this race. The other important racial group is the Indian. The census reports do not list the number of people in the classification living in the villages, but this fact is of little consequence to our study since the "other races" category is nearly synonymous with Indian.<sup>8</sup> Oklahoma has a larger number of persons in this category than any other state. Yet, in spite of the relative importance of Indians in Oklahoma, only 1.7 per cent of the population of the villages is so classified.

**2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups:** The mere statistics of racial composition are given added meaning by comparing them with similar data for other residential groups. For this reason, the race and nativity composition of the villagers is compared with that of the residents of the urban, non-village rural-nonfarm, and the rural farm areas.

Table I gives the percentages of native whites, foreign born whites, Negroes, and Indians for all residential classes. In contrast with the cities, the villages have a higher proportion of native whites, and a lower proportion of foreign born whites. But the most noteworthy variation in

racial composition between the village and the urban populations is the proportion of Negroes. The cities have nearly twice as high a portion of colored inhabitants as the small population centers, 8.8 per cent compared with 4.7 per cent. Numerically Indians are of little importance in either residential group; yet it is found that the villages contain a noteworthy higher percentage of Indians than the larger population aggregates.

For the non-village portion of the rural-nonfarm population, whites are of considerably less consequence than in the villages. The former has a smaller proportion, not only of total whites, but also, of native whites than any other residential category. Too, it has a slightly smaller percentage of foreign born whites than the villages. Negroes are of more significance in the non-village rural-nonfarm population than in the small incorporated centers. A much greater proportion of Indians live in the remainder of the rural-nonfarm areas than in the villages, 4.2 per cent as contrasted with 1.7 per cent.

Rural farm people are generally thought to be the most homogeneous residential group, but in Oklahoma the village inhabitants are more homogeneous, at least from a racial viewpoint. Of the rural-farm population, 11.2 per cent is classed as other than native white, but all except 7.3 per cent of the village population is native white. Table I indicates that the villages have a larger proportion of foreign born whites

<sup>8</sup> Only 0.4 per cent of this group in Oklahoma is other than Indian. Throughout this study the "other races" category will be referred to as Indian.

than the farm population, but that the latter group has a considerably higher proportion of Negroes and Indians than the villages.

3. Size of Village: It has been previously noted that there are considerable differences in racial composition between the village and urban populations. This fact suggests that the race and nativity composition of the village population may change accordingly as the size of the center increases or decreases. To investigate this possibility, the villages are grouped into three divisions: (1) small villages, population less than 500; (2) medium villages, population ranging from 500 to 1,000; and (3) large villages, population 1,000 or more. Table II gives the racial distribution of the populations of these three sizes of villages, along with that of two sizes of urban centers in Oklahoma, those with populations of less than 10,000 and those with populations in excess of 10,000.

TABLE II. RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF OKLAHOMA'S INCORPORATED CENTERS BY SIZE, 1940.

Size of Center	Percentages			
	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
<b>Villages</b>				
Small	93.4	0.9	4.1	1.6
Medium	92.3	0.7	5.7	1.3
Large	92.5	1.0	4.6	1.9
<b>Cities</b>				
Small	90.9	0.9	6.5	1.7
Large	88.2	1.2	10.0	0.6

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Volume II.

This table reveals that no changes in race or nativity are consistently

associated with the changes in the size of the villages. But, when the two urban groups are included in our comparisons, some generalizations may be drawn. First, the proportion of native whites shows a marked increase as the size of the incorporated center decreases. Second, there is a definite tendency for the percentage of Negroes in the population to increase with the size of the population center. Third, there appears to be a slight tendency for the proportion of foreign born whites to increase with the size of the population aggregate. And fourth, there is a slight decline in the importance of Indians as the size of the center increases.

*Age Composition:* The age structure of a society has many direct influences on the characteristics of the institutions and mode of life within a society. Thus, in any thorough study of the villages of Oklahoma, it is necessary to give special attention to age composition and to such questions as: What are the outstanding features of the age structure of the villages? How does the age composition of the village population compare with that of other residential groups in Oklahoma? Is the age structure of all villages identical?

1. Total Village: For years the most popular device for analyzing age composition has been the familiar age-sex pyramid. The age-sex pyramid is subject to criticism because it tends to minimize important age differentials, especially in the upper ages. A more refined device, index numbers, for studying the age pro-

file has been used by Smith.<sup>4</sup> This technique has been used to secure the data presented in Figure 1. The total population of the state was taken as the norm, and indexes were calculated for the village, urban, non-village rural-nonfarm, and rural farm inhabitants.

Observation of this chart indicates that the age profiles of Oklahoma villages are similar to those of small population centers elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> The village population of Oklahoma not only has a deficiency of children, but also a deficiency of those in the productive ages. Most significant of all is the fact that the villages have much more than their share of old people. For the first forty years of life, the index numbers cluster around 95. Be-

tween the ages of forty and fifty the index numbers reach 100 or "normal." Then, from the ages of fifty and over, the indexes for the village population are exceedingly high. This concentration of persons in the advanced years of life is by far the most important feature of the village age profile.

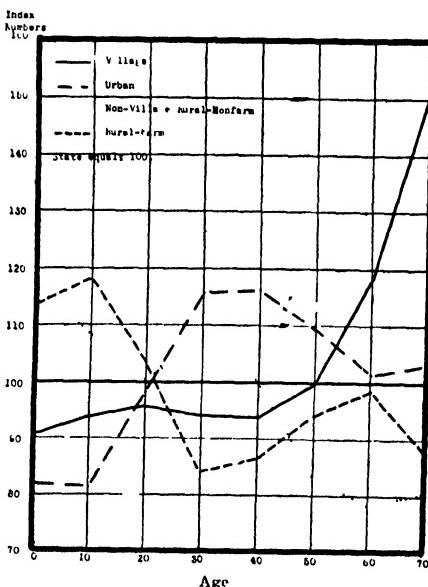


Figure 1. Index Numbers Showing the Relative Importance of Each Age Group in the Total Population of the Residential Categories in Oklahoma, 1940.

<sup>4</sup>This method of using index numbers in studying age composition is described as follows: ". . . Taking the percentage in the total population as a norm, or 100, the corresponding index number for the age group 0-4 in the population of New York City is equal to 83.9, that for the urban population is equal to 115.1, and that for the rural-nonfarm population to 111.8 If the children under five had made up as large a proportion of the urban population as they did of the total population, the index in each case would have been equal to 100.

"The charting of the data . . . is according to strictly conventional patterns. Age grades are represented on the horizontal scale, and variations in the index numbers on the vertical scale. . . For each of the segments being analyzed, for example the urban population, the index numbers are plotted to represent the proper magnitude directly above the midpoints of the respective age groupings. By connecting all of the points and applying accepted methods of smoothing, the resulting curve shows the relative importance of persons of any given age in any segment of the population in comparison with the situation in the total population." T. Lynn Smith, "Some Aspects of Village Demography," *Social Forces*, XX (1941), 17-19.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups: The distinguishing features of the age profile of the villages are brought out more clearly by comparing it with the urban, the rural-farm, and the remainder of the rural-nonfarm populations. Oklahoma villages, like urban centers, have a low proportion of children. How-

ever, the urban concentration of persons in the productive ages contrasts sharply with the scarcity of these age groups in the village. Also, the lack of old persons in the former is in sharp contrast with their concentration in the latter.

The differences in the age structure of the village population and the remainder of the rural-nonfarm population are also very great. At all ages, the population of the non-village segment contrasts very sharply with the village population. Where the villages have a small proportion of their populations in a specific age group, the rest of the rural-nonfarm population concentrates there. This residential group differs from the village in having a great excess of very young children and an excess of people around thirty years of age while the village population is deficient at both these ages. The most important distinction between the two residential categories is found in the advanced ages. Whereas villages have a great excess of old persons, the other portion of the rural-nonfarm population has only a small fraction of its inhabitants in these ages.

The age profile of the rural-farm population more closely resembles that of the villages than that of any of the other residential groups, but here too, important differentials exist. The rural-farm inhabitants have a higher proportion of children than the villages. Both the small population aggregates and the rural-farm areas are characterized by a de-

ficiency of people in the productive ages. This deficiency is more pronounced in the rural-farm population than in the village population. There is a tendency for these two groups to have an excess of old people. Oklahoma villages, however, have much higher proportions of the aged than does the rural-farm category. There is a sudden decrease in the index numbers for the rural-farm population above sixty years of age, but the indexes for the villages are very high for this age bracket. This differential is very likely due to the nature of the settlement pattern of the first white settlers of the state some fifty years ago and by a recent tendency for them to retire from the farm to the village. Therefore, in future years, when natives of the state more nearly comprise those in the upper age brackets, the rural-farm areas probably will have a relatively greater proportion of old people. If this occurs, the age profiles of the village and rural-farm groups will resemble each other much more than at present.

3. Size of Village: The age structure of the small population centers differs from that of large centers. This fact might cause one to wonder whether there is a gradual transition in the shape of the age profile as the size of center changes or whether the change develops suddenly because of some inherent difference between village and urban centers; therefore, an attempt is made to study any possible transformations in age composition which develop as the size of the vil-

lage changes. For this purpose the villages of Oklahoma are placed in the same three size groups which have previously been used. Figure 2 is constructed by plotting the age profiles for these three sizes of incorporated centers. Then, for comparative purposes, the urban areas of Oklahoma are again grouped into two classes and added to the chart. This last step is taken to make any trends in age composition as the size of incorporated center changes stand out, and also, to give any conclusions additional support.

Differentials in the age structure of the various size population centers

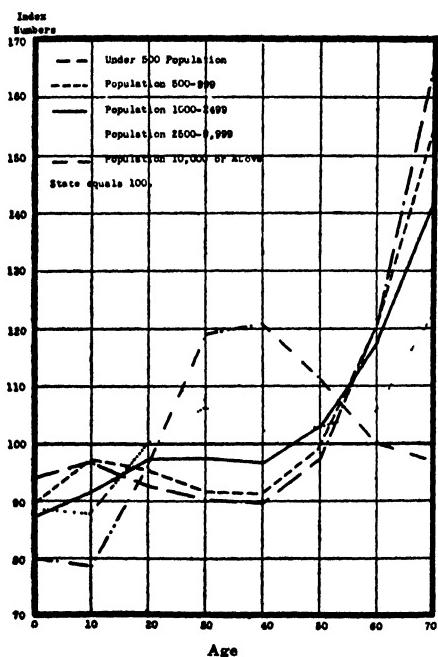


Figure 2. Index Numbers Showing the Relative Importance of Each Age Group for the Population of the Various Sizes of Incorporated Centers in Oklahoma, 1940.

are shown to exist at three age periods: childhood, the productive age, and old age. At each of these periods we find distinct differences in age composition as the size of center changes. Very important is the fact that in every case the changes hold consistently true for all five groups. The chief findings may be enumerated as follows:

1. As the size of the center decreases, the proportion of people in the most advanced age groups increases very noticeably.

2. As the size of the village becomes larger, the proportion of the population in the productive ages increases to a noteworthy degree.

3. There is a distinct increase in the proportion of children as the size of the population aggregate decreases.

**Sex Composition:** Since sex composition is another important factor in the makeup of a population, it behoves us to discover any significant sex differentials that may exist in the villages of Oklahoma. The use of the sex ratio provides the best technique for studying sex composition. The sex ratio is simply the number of males per 100 females. This ratio is easy to compute and to understand. In a group having an equal number of males and females, the sex ratio would be 100. Thus, if there were fewer males than females, the sex ratio would be less than 100; if fewer females than males, the sex ratio would be over 100.

1. Total Villages: Figure 3 has been constructed by charting the sex ratios

at each age period for the different residential groups in the state. We observe that the sex ratio for young children in the villages is somewhat above 100. This figure may be considered as "normal" since the sex ratio at birth is usually about 106. Partially because of a higher death rate at all ages for males than females but principally because of migration, the sex ratio in the villages falls, after the first few years of life, to the low nineties and remains there. The low sex ratio in the villages of Oklahoma is consistent with what has been found by numerous writers.<sup>6</sup> Brunner, for example, found a low sex ratio in his study of agricultural villages in America and accounted for it as follows:

"There are two explanations for this. In the first place, one-seventh of the women in these villages are widows. The retired farmer does not long survive after retirement; his wife continues her routine tasks with perhaps greater enjoyment and outlives her husband. Widows of farmers also move to the village. In the second place, house-to-house censuses made in eight villages, as well as testimony received in other communities, indicate that farm girls are more apt to seek employment in the village, and village boys are more

apt than their sisters to seek employment in large towns."<sup>7</sup>

The sex ratios for those in the advanced ages are unique for Oklahoma villages in that there are more males than females. Observation of the figure shows the sex ratios in the advanced ages for all residential groups in the state to be higher than is normally expected. The sex ratio for those above sixty-five in Oklahoma is 117; yet, in the United States as a

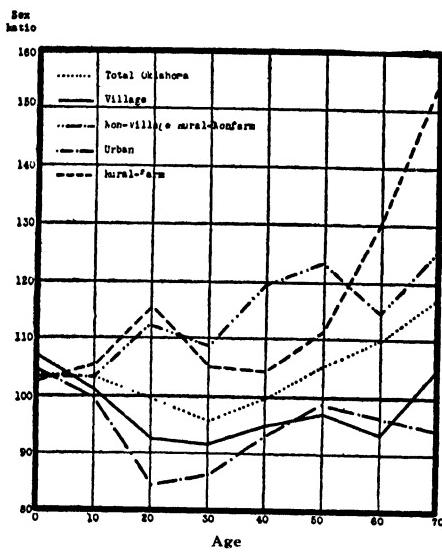


Figure 3. Sex Ratios by Age for the Population of the Residential Categories in Oklahoma, 1940.

whole it is only 95.5. This feature of sex composition in the state is the result of the great preponderance of males over females among the migrants to the area when it was set-

<sup>6</sup> Some of the works in which the excess of females in the villages has been noted are: C. Luther Fry, *American Villagers* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), p. 61; J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), p. 238; and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund deS. Brunner, *Village Communities* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928), p. 22.

tled. There is a tendency for the sex ratio to be very high in newly settled regions. The surviving settlers of the state are largely males but are now quite aged. Thus, the high sex ratio in the upper age brackets. By the time of the next census, most of the surviving settlers will have died and the influence of those remaining on the sex composition of the villages and of the state in general will be negligible.

**2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups:** It has already been indicated that not only the villages, but also, the other residential categories in Oklahoma have an unusually large proportion of males in comparison with the nation. To study this phenomenon further, attention should be directed to the sex ratios of the villages as contrasted with those of the urban, the non-village rural-nonfarm, and the rural-farm areas.

The sex profiles of the urban and village populations are nearly identical. (See Figure 3.) The urban areas, however, do have a lower proportion of males among the young adults. This differential apparently results from the unusually low sex ratio of the Negroes, who are twice as numerous in the cities as in the villages. The sex ratio for the total whites in Oklahoma is 102.4, while for the total Negroes it is only 97.8.

For the oldest age group, the villages have more males than the large population centers. A high proportion of the original settlers to the state, largely males, have moved from the

rural-farm areas to the villages. Those originally settling in the small centers have remained there. On the other hand, recent migrants to Oklahoma have tended to move to the cities and have tended to be equal numbers of each sex. The urban population has increased rapidly in recent years, and consequently, the importance of the pioneers has decreased since much of this growth is the result of new migration to the state. Therefore, since most of the old people in the villages of Oklahoma are male settlers and since the old people in the cities tend to be recent migrants, with equal numbers of each sex, the village population has higher sex ratios than the urban residents in the advanced ages. In a few years after the influence of the original settlers of the state has disappeared and since heavy migration to the cities has stopped, the sex ratios for the advanced years in the villages and in the cities will probably be almost identical.

The sex ratios at birth are, of course, similar for all groups. After the first few years of life, however, the non-village rural-nonfarm population has a very different sex profile than the villages. From Figure 3 it may be observed that males are much more important in the former group than in the villages. While the sex ratios of the village population remain in the nineties throughout most of the life span, the sex ratios for the rest of the nonfarm residents rise steadily with advancing age, reaching a peak of 126 for those above sixty-five years of age.

Males are also much more important in rural-farm areas than in the villages. There are two periods in the life span where the farm population has a much higher proportion of males than the small population aggregates. Girls start migrating from their farm homes at an earlier age than males. This phenomenon causes the sex ratio to reach a peak around the age of twenty. It then drops off as the young males migrate from the farms in greater numbers. After the age of forty, the disparity in the importance of males between villages and rural-farm areas becomes greater with increasing age. The peak in the proportion of males is reached in the rural-farm areas for those above sixty-five. At this age the sex ratio for the farm population is 155, while for the villagers it is 105. Thus, females are more important in the villages; whereas, males are by far the more important in the farming population.

There appear to be two distinct types of sex-profiles among the residential groups. On the one hand, villages and cities have nearly identical patterns. On the other, the sex ratios of the non-village rural-nonfarm and the rural-farm areas closely resemble each other. Females are the more im-

portant in the former groups, while males are more influential in the latter.

3. Race: The United States Census provides no data for the villages of Oklahoma on a racial basis other than the mere number of males and females in each race and nativity group. But with these we may compute sex ratios for the racial stocks of the villages. Table III presents the sex ratios for the race and nativity groups of the total population of the small incorporated centers in the state. The foreign born whites in the villages have a higher proportion of males than have any of the other race or nativity groups. The high sex ratio of the foreign born whites (116.7) in the villages is in keeping with the well known principle that males contribute heavily to long-distant migration. The sex ratio for the Indians is 99.2. This ratio is high when compared with the indexes of the native whites (96.8) and the Negroes (95.0). The low sex ratio at birth for Negroes keeps the proportion of males low for this race for all ages. The relatively low ratio of males among the native whites is probably due to the fact that whites have a long life expectancy, which tends to de-

TABLE III. SEX RATIOS BY RACE FOR OKLAHOMA VILLAGES, 1940

	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
Total Village Population	96.8	116.7	95.0	99.2

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II.*

crease the sex ratio. On the other hand Indians, with a lower life expectancy than whites, have a somewhat higher sex ratio.

4. Size of Village: As an aid to understanding the importance of size of village in the sex composition of Oklahoma villages, Figure 4 has been constructed. On this figure are plotted the sex ratios, according to age, for the three sizes of villages used in our former discussions. Again, the two sizes of urban centers have been added to the graph for comparative purposes.

When we examine the sex profiles of the three sizes of villages, no noteworthy difference in sex composition may be found. True, there are some variations among the three groups for the first few years of life, but these differences are probably explained by errors in enumeration.

Smith found a slightly greater femininity in villages than in urban areas.<sup>8</sup> In this study, however, there appears to be no noteworthy differences between the sex composition of the villages and that of the cities. It has to be granted that the largest cities do have, in comparison with the villages, a dearth of males in the ages twenty to thirty, and an excess of males between the ages of forty and sixty. Yet, there is a tendency for all the categories plotted on the figure to have low sex ratios between the ages of twenty and forty and high sex ratios between the ages of forty and sixty. Smith and Hitt held that these S-shaped sex profiles seemed to

be caused by the misstatement of women's ages.<sup>9</sup> Women in the twenties and thirties have a tendency to underestimate their ages to census enumerators, causing the sex ratios to be low in these ages and high in the upper age brackets. These writers found this tendency more pronounced for Negroes than whites.

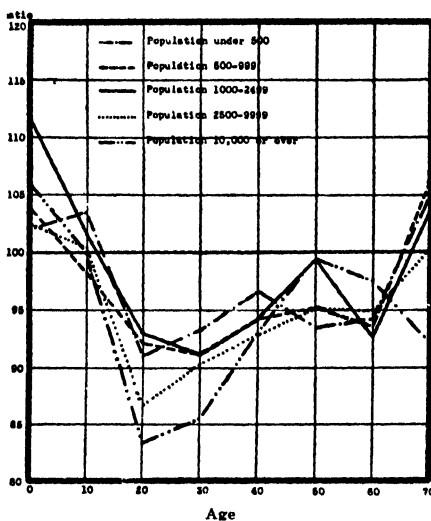


Figure 4. Sex Ratios by Age for the Population of the Various Sizes of Incorporated Centers in Oklahoma, 1940.

It has already been discovered that the proportion of Negroes in the population increases with the size of the incorporated center. It is the belief of the writer that it is the misstatement of age, especially by the Negroes, that makes the sex profile of the large cities different from that of the villages. Too, there may be a

<sup>8</sup> T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indexes," *Metron*, XIII (1939), 95-108.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

tendency for urban women to understate their ages more than rural women. The fact that there is a lower proportion of males among Negroes than among whites would tend to keep the sex ratios in the cities low. This fact, however, appears to be of secondary importance.

Figure 4 also reveals an apparent tendency for the proportion of males above sixty to decrease as the size of the population aggregate increases. This tendency probably results from the fact that the settlers of Oklahoma, mostly males, decrease in importance as the size of the incorporated center increases. If this hypothesis is valid, the sex composition of the aged for the various size centers will probably be nearly identical within the next generation.

Although some differences appear in the sex profiles of the various sizes of villages and cities, these variations do not reflect real differences in sex composition. Such variations appear to be chiefly the result of: (1) the misstatement of age and (2) the influence of the original settlers. The proportion of Negroes does play some part in lowering the sex ratios, but the limitations of our data prevent us from determining the extent of this racial influence. From the analysis of the data, the influence of the Negro appears secondary to the factors mentioned. In view of these facts, it may be concluded that there are no important variations in sex composition traceable to the size of population aggregate.

## Farmers Opinions on Post-War International Relations\*

By Ray E. Wakeley†

### ABSTRACT

Opinions of farmers toward sharing food with other countries are generally favorable. Opinions toward major allied and enemy countries follow distinctive and well-defined patterns of response. While four in five would help allied countries, two in five would help Germany and Japan, and one in five would help none. Persons less than forty-five years of age with above-average socio-economic status were most favorable toward sharing food with other countries. Leaders were more favorable than were others.

Farmers and others were equally willing to share food with each and all of our major allies. Opinions toward sharing food with other countries indicate a favorable opinion toward our allies rather than an international opinion favorable to all nations. This and other similarly favorable opinions toward our allies indicate progress toward the development of opinions which will be more broadly international.

## RESUMEN

La opinión do los agricultores sobre la participación de los comestibles con otras naciones es generalmente favorable. La opinión respecto a las potencias aliadas y los países enemigos sigue normas de respuestas bien distintas y bien definidas. Mientras cuatro de cada cinco ayudarían a las potencias aliadas, dos de cada cinco ayudarían a Alemania y al Japón, y uno de cada cinco no ayudaría a ninguna. Personas de menos de cuarenta y cinco años de edad y de estado económico-social superior al promedio eran las mejores dispuestas a compartir los comestibles con otros países. Algunos líderes se sentían mejor dispuestos que el común de la gente.

Los agricultores y otras personas se hallaban igualmente dispuestos a compartir los comestibles con cada una de las potencias aliadas. La opinión acerca del comportamiento de los comestibles con otros países indica más bien una opinión favorable hacia nuestros aliados que un punto de vista internacional favorable a todas las naciones. Esto y otras opiniones igualmente favorables hacia nuestros aliados indican progreso hacia el desarrollo de opiniones que serán más generalmente internacionales.

During the months ahead it will be extremely important to know what farmers think and why they think as they do. In no field is this understanding more important than in the rapidly expanding field of international relations. Problems of United Nations organization, loans to Britain, food for the starving, control of Japan and Germany, cooperation with Russia, control of the atom bomb, press against limited time for solution. On some of these issues, such as participating in the United Nations organization and furnishing food to needy countries, farmers have expressed their opinions. On some questions their position is not yet clear, but an examination of farmers' opinions shows that they are characterized by a regularity and a consistency which gives us confidence in the data

and in the opinions stated. Properly interpreted they appear to be a safe guide to action on the problems studied.

## Studies of Opinions on Food-Sharing

Food-sharing was selected as a question for more intensive analysis in Hamilton County, Iowa, in September and October, 1944 and in the surrounding cash grain area in Iowa in March and April, 1945. Food was an item of immediate need in other countries which was of interest to farmers. Also their opinions on food sharing are intermediate when compared to their opinion on participation in international organization which was more favorable than opinion toward food sharing, and their opinion on sharing machinery which was less favorable. The question was asked: "Would you be willing to continue rationing after the war for a period to help feed the people of the following countries?" Following was a list of seven major enemy and allied countries and the answer; yes, no, or undecided, was recorded for each

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† Department of Economics and Sociology, Iowa State College.

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country. This made it possible to compare the various countries and see if opinions toward sharing food with any of them were in close enough agreement to be considered a basis for a unified international opinion.

These are sample studies. The first consists of 272 families in the Webster City community. The second, consists of 157 farm families in the cash grain area of Iowa. Both samples were taken by the random block method within stratified counting areas. In the Webster City community, separate samples were taken in the county seat town of Webster City (6,738 population), in three small villages, Kamrar, Blairsburg, and Woolstock (total 835 population), and in the farming area (approximately 5,758 population) within which a majority of farm families make Webster City their regular trading center. The approximate number of families can be obtained by multiplying the samples by 18, 3, and 12 respectively.

Distribution of these families by age of the head of the family and by socio-economic status scores is quite

uniform.<sup>1</sup> The villages are slightly atypical because a larger proportion of the families have a score less than 80 than either the city or the open country. The villages also have a slightly smaller proportion under 45 years of age, but this tendency is not marked. Farm families are a bit exceptional because of the larger proportion with heads under 45 years of age, but they are about evenly divided among the —80 and the 80+ score groups.

#### Opinions Toward Different Countries Reveal Patterns

Replies for individual countries show 3 in 4 of the families in the Webster City community were in favor of helping each of the allied countries: France, England, Russia and China. China was the most favored country but differences of opinion toward helping our 4 major allies were negligible.

<sup>1</sup> Status was measured by the Sewell socio-economic status scale (short form): See W. H. Sewell, "A short socio-economic status scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (June, 1943), 161-170.

#### RESIDENCE, AGE OF HEAD, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILIES IN THE WEBSTER CITY COMMUNITY

Place of Residence	Age of Head of Family								
	Total			Under 45 Years			45 Years and Over		
	S-E. S. Scores			S-E. S. Scores			S-E. S. Scores		
	Total	-80	80+	Total	-80	80+	Total	-80	80+
Webster City	100	57	43	34	18	16	66	39	27
Three Villages	72	51	21	23	16	7	49	35	14
Open Country(farm)	100	55	45	46	25	21	54	30	24
Total	272	163	109	103	59	44	169	104	65

Japan was the least favored nation but the opinion toward Germany was so similar that they can be considered together. Less than half were in favor of sharing food with them.

Italy holds an intermediate position with 2 in 3 families in favor of sharing food with her. Some of the persons interviewed were of the opinion that Italy was a victim of circumstances and should not be considered a major enemy like Japan or Germany. But since Italy fought against us, they are of the opinion that she is not entitled to a full measure of assistance.

Differences within each of these 3 patterns of response are negligible while differences between them are highly significant statistically and highly important to our analysis of international opinion.

At this point we are justified in stating as a hypothesis that there has developed a favorable opinion toward our major allies as shown by the opinion toward sharing food with various countries. Such unanimity of favorable opinion toward our allies, if continued and reciprocated, can

quickly become the basis for a strong inter-allied opinion. This opinion is based more upon value received than upon cultural similarities and differences. For instance, China and Japan were held in quite similar but unfavorable esteem after the first world war. Now China is most favored and Japan is least favored. This is not so much because our dislike of Japan has increased as it is because we are so much more favorable to China. However, we must not overlook the significance of the Chinese Revolution of 1912 which started China on the way toward becoming a political democracy. Acuteness of their need is also recognized especially in the case of China and of Russia, countries which farmers think should not pay as much in return for wartime assistance as our other major allies.

Opinion toward sharing food with our major allies is equally favorable among town, village and farm families. Important differences arise when Japan and Germany are compared with other countries. Village families are most favorable and farmers are least favorable toward sharing food with Japan and Germany.

#### RESPONSES TOWARD SHARING FOOD TO HELP SELECTED WAR-TORN COUNTRIES GET A NEW START

Country (in order enumerated)	Opinion Toward Food-Sharing		
	Favor	Opposed	Undecided
France	204	31	34
Germany	129	78	60
England	201	34	34
Japan	124	84	60
Russia	201	33	35
Italy	177	45	47
China	207	31	28

**PERCENTAGE OF FAVORABLE ANSWERS TOWARD SHARING FOOD  
WITH OTHER COUNTRIES DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD**

Age	Socio-Economic Status Score	Countries Selected	
		Major Allies	Japan and Germany
Under 45	Under 80	78	42
	80 or more	85	49
45 and over	Under 80	68	43
	80 or more	75	53

Socio-economic status and the age of the head of the family affect opinion toward food-sharing in the Webster City community more than does place of residence. Families with above average status are more in favor of helping allied countries as are also those under 45 years of age.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, older persons with lower status scores are least in favor of helping the allies. Those with higher status are also more in favor of helping Japan and Germany but age is not an important factor affecting willingness to help enemy countries. It seems that those who are above average in their own living are more in favor of helping war-torn countries. But the younger ones believe that it is good business to help our allies, rather than Japan and Germany.

#### Distinctive Patterns of Opinion Emerge

Dominant patterns of opinion toward sharing food with other countries are significant results of this analysis. These major patterns are internally so consistent and the differences between them are so large that

these patterns will be used to replace the more cumbersome and repetitious analysis of opinion toward helping each country. It is important therefore that the patterns be carefully defined and described. The four major patterns of response are as follows:

1. *Help all countries.* This response includes persons who are in favor of sharing food during the post-war period with each and all of the seven countries included in the survey. This is a natural response for those with strong humanitarian impulses, who may or may not have the facts at hand on which to discriminate between the various countries. It seems obvious that the true internationalists would be included here. Whether their opinion is a matter of principle or a reasoned conclusion is not indicated by the data.

2. *Help all allied countries.* This response includes persons who are in favor of sharing food with each and all of the four major allied countries. They might also favor sharing with one or two enemy countries but not with all of them. Italy was the enemy country most frequently included in this pattern. This more discriminating

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

but less international position appears to be more uniformly and strongly held than any of the others. Hence, it might become a basis for international organization though it can be criticised on a humanitarian basis because of the "refuse-your-enemies and help-your-friends" point of view. Obviously, this response is not governed by a recognition of the need for assistance.

3. *Help no country.* This response includes persons not in favor of sharing food with any of the seven countries in the survey. Persons were included here if they were either opposed or undecided about helping each and all countries included. In this study half are against helping other countries and half are undecided. However, none of these persons are in favor of sharing though only half of them are actively anti-international on this question.

4. *Help some countries.* This response includes persons in favor of helping some country or some combination of countries, either allied or enemy, not included under pattern one or two above. This pattern is more like pattern two but it may include

only one or two countries or perhaps all but one of the allied countries. It also includes those very few respondents who omitted an answer to one of the allied countries. This pattern is somewhat similar to pattern two and might be combined with it.

The relative size of the four pattern groups makes comparison easy within the community as a whole. Of every five families two would help all countries, one would help none and two would help some or all of the allied countries. Only one in fifteen would help some allies but not all of them. While a majority would not share food with all countries, three in four would share with each and all our major allies.<sup>3</sup> Four in five would help one or more of the war-torn countries.

#### Some Town-Country Differences

Place of residence has an important bearing on opinions toward sharing food with other countries. Webster City families are slightly more favor-

<sup>3</sup> These proportions for Webster City community are arrived at by combining the 3 residence samples according to the proportion which each sample is, of the population it represents.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PATTERNS OF RESPONSE TO FOOD-SHARING AND RESIDENCE, WEBSTER CITY COMMUNITY

Pattern	Place of Residence		
	Webster City	3 Villages	Farm (o.c.)
1. Help all countries	48	43	32
2. Help all allied countries	30	4	41
3. Help no country	17	24	18
4. Help some countries	5	2	8
Total Replies	100	73	99

able toward all countries. The three villages have a much larger proportion favorable toward helping all countries. They also have a larger proportion in favor of helping none of them. This all-or-none reaction so characteristic of the villages can not be explained on the basis of the German background of one village because the other two villages with French and English backgrounds react the same way. True, these village families were well represented in the armed forces but data show that the opinion of families with members in

appears to them to be a natural extension and continuation of their wartime food production so vital to our major allies.

Iowa farmers living in other counties in west-north-central Iowa report similar opinions. They are more negative, three in ten not being in favor of helping any country, and they are less in favor of helping allied countries. These differences are not important enough to justify a sharp distinction between the two sample groups which are combined in the following table.

**OPINIONS OF FARMERS AND FARM LEADERS TOWARD SHARING  
FOOD WITH WAR-TORN COUNTRIES**

Patterns of Replies	Farmer Leaders	A.A.A. Township Committeemen	Other Farmers
Help all countries	13	31	55
Help all allied countries	16	10	48
Help no other country	3	5	47
Help some countries	5	4	19
Total	37	50	169

the armed forces does not differ significantly from the opinion of families not so represented. It seems likely that these village reactions can be explained first, on a basis of traditional food-sharing and, second, on the basis of their reaction of right or wrong, with less careful consideration of the problem based on a practical basis for its solution.

Farm people on the other hand have the smallest proportion in favor of helping all countries and the largest proportion in favor of helping our major allies. Farmers are quite logical and consistent in this position which

**Leaders Opinions Are More  
Favorable**

Community leaders who hold office in any of the major organized groups are more internationally minded than the rest of the people. Only one in ten leaders are not in favor of helping any country. We have said that those who are above average in socio-economic status are more in favor of helping, as are also those below forty-five years of age. This, however, does not account for all of the difference. We must conclude that leaders are more in favor of helping because position and helpfulness and breadth of

outlook are positively related. They are elected because of their broader views and they receive more information after their election.

While community leaders are significantly ahead of their followers, they maintain the same general pattern of opinion. Town and village leaders are more in favor of helping all countries, while farm leaders are more in favor of helping our allies.

The most favorable opinion toward post-war food-sharing was found among a sample consisting of fifty township committeemen of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Three in five of these locally elected township leaders were in favor of sharing food with all countries. This is an important difference between the A.A.A. township committeemen and other farmer community leaders who are more in favor of helping the allied countries. It would seem that township A.A.A. committeemen in Iowa are especially cognizant of the fact that our food problems are to be solved by international action and must be solved on a world-wide basis.

#### Farmers Favor Peace Based Upon International Economic Equality

Recognizing that the peace is still to be made and that the economic basis for the peace is tremendously important, this question was asked in Webster City community: "What effect would a peace based upon economic equality for all nations have upon your own standard of living?" Slightly more than half were of the opinion it would have no effect on

them. Townsmen, villagers and farmers were alike in the proportion reporting "no effect."

Three in ten opined that the results of international economic equality would be good. Less than half as many, one in seven, thought such a peace would effect them unfavorably. The favorable opinions were not evenly divided. In the villages and on the farms only one in six thought international economic equality would affect them favorably. In Webster City two in five reported favorably.

Age was not an important factor in determining opinion toward the effect of international economic equality. Heads of families forty-five years of age or older thought the same as those under forty-five on this question.

High socio-economic status affected opinions adversely. Over half of those with above average status thought their standard of living would change and two in five of this upper half thought economic equality among nations would have a bad effect on them. Only one in three of those with below average status thought their standard of living would be changed by a peace based upon economic equality among nations and three in ten of this lower half thought the change would be bad for them.

This question on the effects of a peace based upon economic equality is a far-reaching one. One cannot be sure of the correct interpretations of the answers. So opinions on this question are more nearly a test of confidence in our ability to maintain our

own position, of our belief in equality among nations, and of our faith in continuing the favorable development of international relations which received major impetus through the war effort. The data indicate the probability of a majority favorable to international economic equality even among those who have above average status. The major question is how many of those persons, 55% of the total, who think international economic equality will make no difference to them, would be in favor of establishing peace on that basis. The data are not at hand, but it seems likely that a majority would favor in principle a peace based upon international economic equality but might disagree on details affecting their interests.

#### Other Questions and Other Regions

Farmers and rural people in Hamilton County were more favorable toward joining an association of nations to keep the peace than they were toward food sharing. Toward sharing farm machinery and equipment they were less favorable than toward either food sharing or international organization but a majority was favorable to sharing machinery with war-torn countries.

Farmers in other regions have also expressed themselves similarly favorable toward these three questions.<sup>4</sup> The degree of favor varies somewhat among regions, depending on such factors as the relative importance of

international trade, possible competition from countries to be helped, and the socio-economic status of the farmers. Judged by the opinions stated, Midwest farmers appear to be less traditional, less class conscious and more commercially-minded in considering international questions than most other areas are. However, corn belt farmers apparently do not fear post-war competition with farmers in war-torn countries.

#### Some Implications for Action

Opinion polls, mostly by Gallup, also indicate that farmers are favorable toward participation in international affairs. The question remains: Will farmers who express favorable opinions act or support action on international questions? This study suggests an answer in two parts.

1. Farmers will strongly support international action which is accompanied by a workable plan and is not strongly opposed to their immediate interests. Farmers themselves are not likely to act personally and directly unless such action is needed to protect their interests.

2. Farmers interpret international cooperation to mean organized cooperation among major allied countries. These are the nations our farmers would feed and it is the favorable opinion toward these nations which tip the balance so strongly in favor of international organization. Allied opinion is the chief empirical basis for the inter-allied organization and its expansion into world organization.

<sup>4</sup>Bureau of Agricultural Economics,  
*Farmers Opinions About Post-War Conditions*, (October, 1944).

Farmers and others in the post-war period might be expected to become less favorable toward participation in international affairs for several reasons.

1. As the war ends they tend again to become absorbed in domestic problems, especially problems of reconversion.

2. As the men in our armed services come home, their wartime experience and personal contact with other nationals will influence us, and not all their experiences were favorable. However, we can depend upon the sincere desire of service men to prevent future wars, though not in their belief that wars can be prevented.

3. As plans for the United Nations become more specific it will be easier to object to specific details of the plan

than it was to object to the general principle of international cooperation. However, it seems that we can count upon the fact that we have signed the charter to carry us through minor international difficulties.

Domestic reconversion and plans for the peace are two major problem areas, still largely unsolved, which strongly influence our opinions toward participation in international organization. As plans for rapid reconversion proceed on a basis which will discourage deflation and inflation, we will feel freer to consider international problems and more confident of the outcome. As peace terms are agreed upon and put into effect, that will remove another major obstacle to the successful operation of the United Nations organization.

## Farm Enlargement in North Dakota: Reasons and Causes

*By J. M. Gillette†*

### ABSTRACT

North Dakota farm enlargement is a special pattern of farm enlargement in the United States.

Farms enlarge in passing from east to west in the state, while the number of farms decrease.

Increase in size of farm varies inversely with precipitation and directly with per cent of loss of county population.

Inquiry of farmers in three counties as to reasons for their farm enlargement elicited twenty-eight specific reasons.

In frequency among replying farmers, desire to raise family standard of living ranked first, 54 per cent, and wish to provide opportunity for oncoming sons ranked second, with 48 per cent.

Leading causes of farm enlargement discussed are population shifts, mechanized farming, improved markets and marketing, reduced precipitation, and changes in food tastes. To exactly measure and to rank these causes as to their gravity is beyond the ability of the writer.

## RESUMEN

El engrandecimiento de las fincas en North Dakota tiene una norma especial en el engrandecimiento de fincas en los Estados Unidos.

Las fincas engranden al pasar del este al oeste en el estado mientras que el número de fincas se reduce.

El aumento en el tamaño de las fincas varía en proporción inversa con la precipitación pluvial y en proporción directa con el por ciento de pérdida de población municipal.

A las preguntas hechas a los agricultores en tres municipios en cuanto a las razones del engrandecimiento de las fincas, dieron veintiocho razones específicas.

Siguiendo la frecuencia de las respuestas: en el 54 por ciento de los agricultores el deseo de mejorar las condiciones de vida fué la primera, y en el 48 por ciento, o sea la segunda, el deseo de proveer oportunidades a sus hijos.

Las causas principales del engrandecimiento de las fincas discutidas son cambios de población, la mecanización de la agricultura, mercados y métodos de venta mejores, la reducción de la precipitación pluvial y cambios de gustos. Le ha sido imposible al escritor ordenar en sentido de gravedad todas estas causas.

This study of farms seeks to exhibit the situation in North Dakota, contiguous regions, and the nation, to denote trends, and to discuss reasons and causes of farm enlargement. The study samples largely relate to three meteorological divisions of North Dakota as seen in the spot-map on precipitation, Figure 1, the all-time mean precipitation of each division being noted. The discussion will bring out the relation between precipitation and size of farm.

Throughout the nation and the world, a farm is a pretty definite and continuous affair. Such seems not the case in North Dakota and what obtains there now is likely to be the case throughout the Great Plains states. It is, therefore, well to recall the United States explanation as to what a farm is for census purposes: A tract or all the tracts of land under the management and/or tillage of one operator. In North Dakota a farm

is a shifty affair and the larger farm situation regarding farmers and farms is exceedingly kaleidoscopic. A farm may be one consolidated tract of land continuously operated by a farmer for a long period of years or a plurality of tracts (from 2 to 50 or more), some or a great proportion of which are discrete and widely distributed, the constituent tracts changing from year to year, sometimes rendering a continuous farm identity impossible. A Bowman county farm of some 15,000 acres was composed of about 50 tracts in 1942 and of a little larger number in 1945, the whole in each case being widely scattered and largely discontinuous over two or three townships. Perhaps a third of the 1942 tracts had been dropped and as many new ones of a larger acreage added by 1945. John Doe of Grand Forks county had a farm of six tracts in 1942 and one of seven tracts in 1945, none of which were identical with any of those of 1942. Yet the AAA regarded and recorded "it" as John Doe's farm. It is

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† Research Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Dakota.

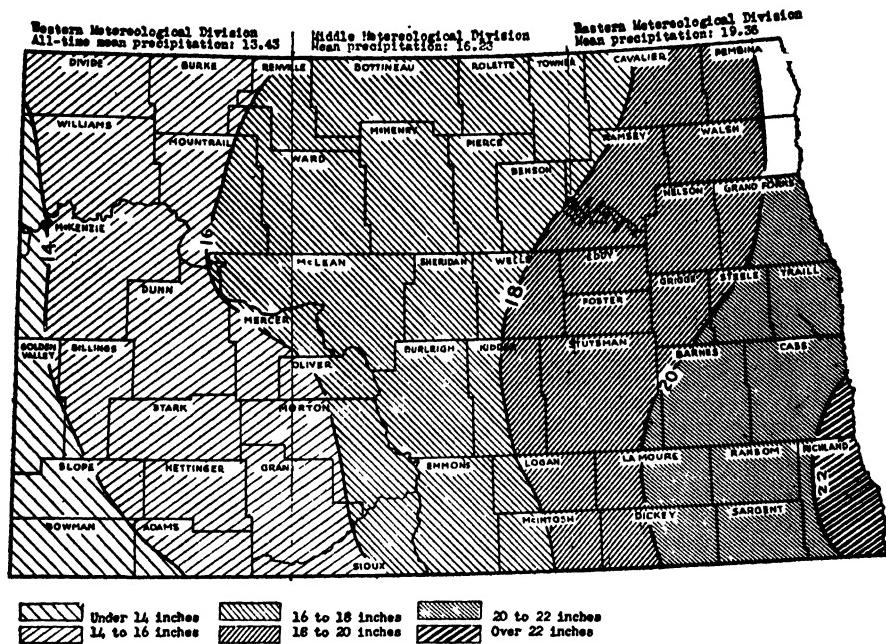


Figure 1. North Dakota mean precipitation, by regions, 1898-1928,  
North Dakota Planning Board.

apparent that a North Dakota farm is rather phantasmagoric.

The situation in North Dakota regarding the size of farms is represented in the accompanying figure, Figure 2, for the last census year, 1945. A scrutiny of this figure shows that, for most part the smaller farms are in the eastern part of the state, and the larger ones are in the western and southwestern portions, the size graduating upward as we proceed from east to west. As is later found, this size of farm pattern is similar to the regional distribution of precipitation in the state.

There is an almost regular trend in the growth in average size of farm

in North Dakota from 1890 to 1945. This is shown in Table I, under heading, Size of Farm. The mean size has increased from 277.4 acres in 1890 to 588.3 in 1945, more than a hundredfold growth. All census decades manifest a growth, only the inter-decennial censuses exhibiting a contrary movement. We have reason to suspect the accuracy of these between-decennial data.

The number of farms and the state acreage in farms have undergone a somewhat cyclical movement. The decennial census number of farms increased from 27,611 in 1890 to 77,975 in 1930, then shrank to slightly under 74,000 in 1940, then declining

to under 70,000 in 1945. The writer suspects that the 1945 number is too small, in the light of the great fluctuation of the 1935 census number above the decennial numbers of 1930

and 1940. The state acreage increased from 7,660 in 1890, to 39,118 in 1935 and then declined to 37,936 acres in 1940, a slight increase then manifesting itself by 1945. The acreage re-

TABLE I. CHANGES IN NORTH DAKOTA FARMS

Census Year	Number of Farms			Size of Farm			State Farm Acreage		
	Number	Change %	Per cent *	Acres	Change	Per cent	Thousand Acres	Change	Per cent
1890	27,611			277.4			7,660		
1900	45,392	17,784	64.3	342.9	65.5	23.6	15,543	7,883	102.9
1910	74,360	28,968	38.8	382.3	40.6	11.8	28,427	12,884	82.9
1920	77,690	3,060	10.3	466.1	83.8	21.9	36,215	7,788	27.4
1925	75,970	-1,720	-2.2	459.9	-6.2	-1.3	54,327	18,107	-5.2
1930	77,975	2,005	2.6	496.8	36.9	8.0	38,658	-460	12.6
1935	84,906	6,631	7.8	462.2	-33.6	-6.7	39,118	460	1.2
1940	73,963	-10,644	-12.6	512.9	50.7	11.0	37,936	-1,182	-3.0
1945	69,649	-4,314	-5.8	588.3	75.4	18.3	40,976	3,013	7.8

\* Minus sign (—) signifies decrease.

Data from U. S. Stat. Abstr. and Report of Dept. Agr., for appropriate years, and preliminary reports of Census for 1945. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

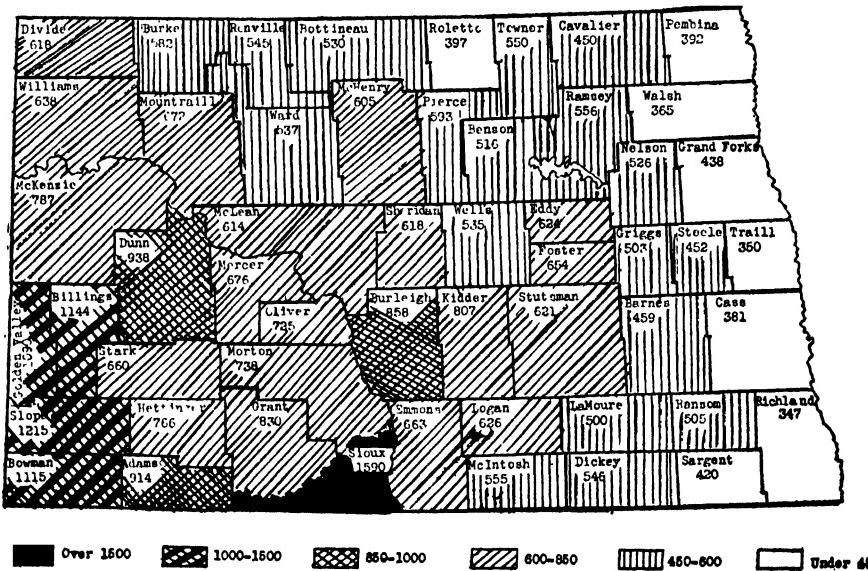


Figure 2. Average size of farms in North Dakota, 1945, by counties. Design and work by J. M. Gillette. 1946.

mained fairly stable between 1920 and 1940.

The trends in size and number of farms are graphically represented in Figure 3. The cyclical movement in number of farms is quite visible. The straight edge of a ruler laid on the chart just to the right of the ends of the bars denoting decennial size of farms is not far from the end of any of them, showing an almost arithmetically gradual trend from 1890 to 1945.

A study of change in size, number, and acreage of farms for the different sections of the state is found in Table II. The comparison is between the eastern, central, and western tiers of counties, representative of the three meteorological divisions of the United States Climatological Reports.

Respecting number of farms, it is indicated that the per cent of change between 1940 and 1945 in the eastern tier was —4.2, a decline in number of that percentage. The per cent decline

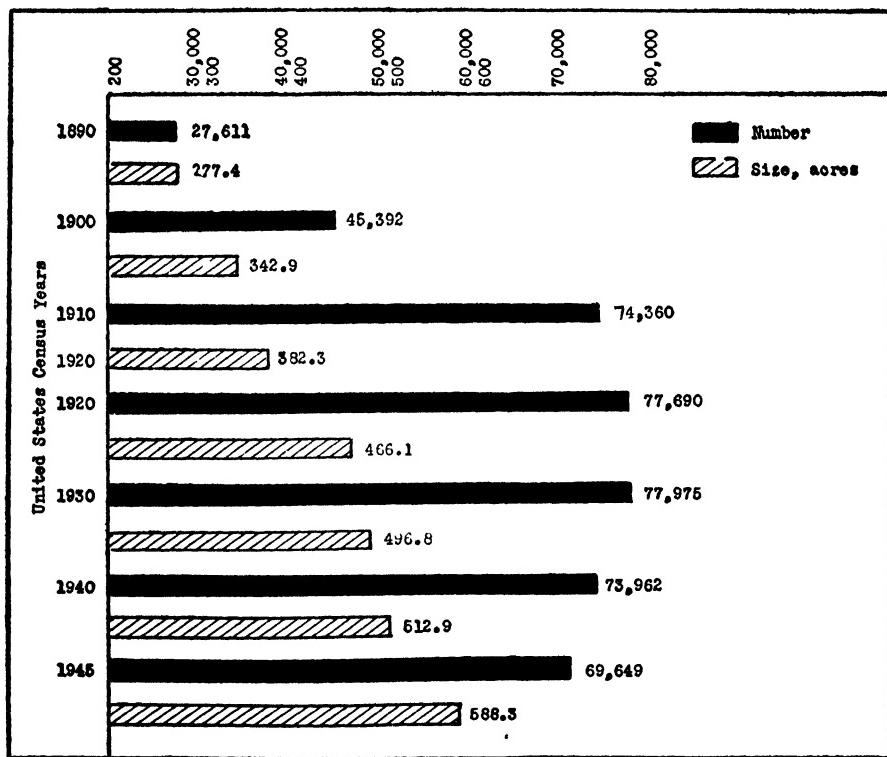


Figure 3. Number and average size of North Dakota farms, 1890 to 1945. Designed and executed by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

TABLE II. CHANGE IN NUMBER AND ACREAGE OF NORTH DAKOTA FARMS, 1940-45  
BY COUNTIES

Eastern Tier of Counties	Number of Farms			Farm Acreage in Thousands			Size of Farm			
	1945	1940	Change	1945	1940	Change				
	No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent		1945	1940		
Pembina	1753	1811	-48	-2.7	690.5	677.7	12.8	1.9	392	374
Walsh	2244	2490	-246	-9.9	818.6	813.1	5.5	0.7	365	336
Grand Forks	1990	2065	-75	-4.0	873.3	840.1	32.2	3.3	438	307
Trail	1428	1498	-70	-4.7	542.5	546.8	-4.3	-0.8	381	365
Cass	2522	2592	-70	-2.7	1094.4	1093.7	0.7	0.1	484	422
Richland	2466	2490	-24	-1.0	856.1	848.4	7.7	0.9	347	341
Total	12413	12940	-533	-4.2	4876.4	4819.8	47.6	1.0	393	372
<hr/>										
Central Tier										
Bottineau	1940	2219	-279	-12.5	1027.5	979.1	48.4	4.9	528	441
McHenry	1843	1992	-149	-7.5	1116.3	1031.5	84.8	8.0	605	518
Sheridan	920	1018	-98	-9.6	569.6	541.8	27.8	4.2	618	532
Burleigh	1147	1212	-65	-5.6	982.0	794.7	187.3	23.5	858	656
Emmons	1386	1413	-27	-1.9	917.8	854.0	63.8	7.6	663	604
Total	7236	7854	-618	-7.9	4613.2	4201.1	412.1	9.8	638	534
<hr/>										
Western Tier										
Divide	1235	1306	-71	-5.4	762.1	682.1	80.0	11.8	618	522
Williams	1910	2080	-170	-5.3	1220.5	1028.0	192.5	18.7	642	494
McKenzie	1340	1563	-223	-14.3	1055.7	916.0	139.7	13.0	787	518
Golden Valley	466	507	-41	-8.1	607.4	466.2	41.2	8.8	1090	919
Slope	514	589	-75	-12.8	624.1	587.4	36.7	6.2	1210	997
Bowman	576	659	-85	-12.6	643.1	612.1	31.0	5.1	1115	929
Total	6101	6704	-603	-9.9	4812.9	4291.8	521.1	12.4	788	640

Data from U. S. Census publications. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

in number of farms of the central tier was -7.9 and in the western tier it was -9.9. As we pass from east to west the percentage of decline in number of farms increases.

In total number of acres in farms, there was an increase in all sections between 1940 and 1945. Nearly 48,000 acres were added in the eastern tier, an increase of 1 per cent, about 412,000 acres were added in the central tier, the per cent of gain being 9.8, while over a half million acres were added in the western tier, a gain of 12.4 per cent. The largest gainers

among these counties were Grand Forks in the east, Burleigh in the central, and Williams in the western tier.

The mean (average) size of farm increased from 372 to 393 acres in the eastern tier of counties, 5.6 per cent. In the central tier the mean size of farm grew from 534 to 638 acres, 19.4 per cent; while in the western tier the average size of farm increased from 640 to 788 acres, 23.1 per cent. The western tier of counties were the only ones to show an average size of farm of over a thousand

acres. In that tier, Slope county had the largest average sized farm, one of 1,210 acres.

There has been a long time trend towards farm enlargement in North Dakota, in its general region within the nation, and in the nation at large. When the facts are arrayed they become impressive and suggest that they are the expression of an irresistible drive, an historic, dynamic projective, in the given direction. We observe the trend in size of farms in North Dakota, in the adjacent states of Minnesota, South Dakota, and Montana; in our political division of the nation, namely, the West North Central states, and in the nation at large. There has been a consistent, although not an absolutely regular, trend toward farm enlargement in all these areas. United States census data for 1945 is available, at the time of writing, only for North Dakota and the nation, while facts as far back as 1850 were obtainable locally only for the United States. The 1850 farm size of 202 acres for the country at large antedated the Homestead Act which undoubtedly served to democratize land holding and to reduce the average size of farms.

The trend in size of farm for the United States between 1850 and 1945 is represented by the lengthy almost horizontal curve at the bottom of the chart, Figure 4. After 1880 a general upward movement is denoted. The four shorter curves represent the size of farm movement in North Dakota and its three adjacent states. The Minnesota follows the national curve

closely and conservatively. The curves for the two Dakotas travel upward rapidly and not far from each other. The Montana curve is rather a rocket-appearing affair. Why the large recession occurred between 1900 and 1910 is unknown to this writer.

Figure 5 presents rates of gain curves for number and size of North Dakota farms for the period 1890-1940. They denote a fall in rate of gain, not a loss in number or size. The rate of increase in number of farms in the state declined from over 60 for the decade ending 1900 to zero in 1930 and then sank below that line for actual losses. The rate of gain in size of farm fell from about 38 for the early decade to about 7 by 1940 and then rose to nearly 20 by 1945.

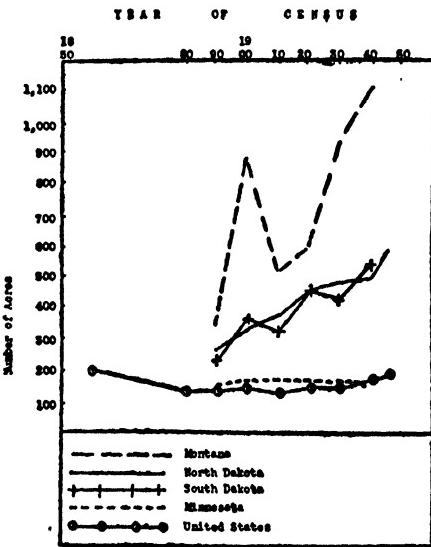


Figure 4. Size of farm in the United States and specified states at Census years, 1850 and 1860 to 1940. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette. Source of data, U. S. Census publications for appropriate dates.

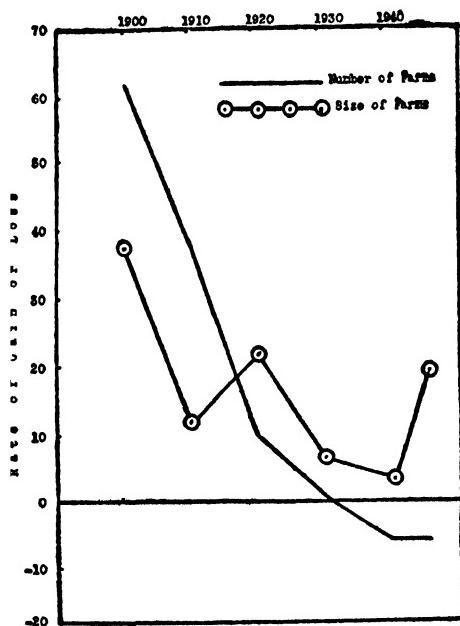


Figure 5. Per cent of change in number and size of North Dakota farms, 1890-1940. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette from data given in tables.

One county in each of the three tiers is the object of our AAA study, as to reasons for farm enlargement in North Dakota. It is seen that Grand Forks County lost 75, or 4 per cent in number of farms, gained a farm acreage of 32,200, or 3.8 per cent, and increased its average size of farm from 407 to 438 acres. It is

a good representative of its tier of counties in all respects save acreage enlargement, that being much greater than that of its sister counties. Burleigh, of the central tier of counties, lost 65 farms (5.6 per cent), gained an acreage of 187,800 (23.5 per cent), much larger than its sister counties, and increased the size of its average farm about 200 acres, a very much greater gain than that made by any other county of its tier.

Bowman County of the western tier is fairly representative of its class in loss in number of farms and in increase of size and acreage. Its per cent of loss in number of farms is 12.6, it gained 5.1 per cent in mean county acreage. It increased its mean size of farm 186 acres as against an average increase of 148 acres for its tier of counties.

Table III depicts the situation among the tri-county AAA farms which were studied. We have the number for each county given which were signed up in 1942 and 1945, the number in each case which gained in size, and the average acreage increase per farm. Of the 570 farms signed up in 1945 in Bowman County, 144 had enlarged since 1942. The similar

TABLE III. CHANGE IN NUMBER AND SIZE OF TRI-COUNTY FARMS SIGNED UP WITH TRIPLE A

County	Farms Signed Up		% Change	Gaining in Size		Total Acreage of Farms		% Change	Increase per Farm Acres
	1945	1942		Num-ber	Per cent	1945	1942		
Bowman	570	659	-10.4	144	25.3	186,982	130,126	43.8	394.8
Burleigh	1000	1212	-20.2	145	13.2	195,390	137,946	41.6	398.9
Grand Forks	1146	1172	-2.2	128	11.2	68,156	39,041	68.2	209.2

Data obtained by writer from Triple A offices of the specified counties in July, 1945.

couplet in Burleigh County was 1,000 and 145; that in Grand Forks County was 1,146 and 128. In all cases the number signed up had declined: Bowman, 10.9 per cent, Burleigh, 20.2 per cent, and Grand Forks, 2.2 per cent. The acreage in these farms had enlarged from 41,500 in Burleigh to 68,200 in Grand Forks, and the mean farm enlargement per county ranged from 209 acres in Grand Forks to 399 in Burleigh County, Bowman standing at 395. The comparison of these enlargements among signed up farms with that of all farms of these counties, as observed in Table II, is striking. In Grand Forks County the acreage increase between 1940 and 1945 was 15.6, in Bowman it was 47, while in Burleigh it was 154.5. It would seem, therefore, that something in the AAA situation stimulated a great farm enlargement.

#### Reasons For Farm Enlargement

When, in conversation with numerous individuals, I have inquired as to the reason for farm enlargement in our state and the country at large, only about one uniform reason has been given, namely, mechanization of farming. My own skimpy knowledge about the situation assigned a plurality of reasons and the research studies of T. S. Thorfinson ("Why Farms Change in Size")<sup>1</sup> and others confirmed and enlightened my opinion. I conceived that I might throw some further light on the subject by a concrete study of North Dakota farm enlargement, that a selection of

a few counties might serve as a sample of the whole state situation. The counties chosen were Grand Forks, Burleigh, and Bowman, the first to represent the Red River Valley counties, the second to typify the central tier of counties extending from Bottineau county on the north to Emmons at the south, and Bowman to stand for the western tier from Divide to Bowman, and also express the situation of the large farm counties, which are, at the same time, those having the smallest annual rainfall. These three sets of counties would fairly typify the east, the center, and the west of the state.

In order to secure the real farmer reasons for enlargement, I had to get to the farmers in some way. I had neither the time nor the money to canvass hundreds of farmers in each county. Instead I went over all the farms signed up with the county AAA in each county, compared those of 1942 with those of 1945 as to size, estimated the size of each operator's holdings for each year, listed those which had enlarged, and tabulated the results. A letter of explanation was sent to each farmer, together with a self-addressed postal card containing a short questionnaire to elicit reasons for enlargement. The total number of farmers addressed in that manner was 424; 145 in Bowman county, 149 in Burleigh, and 130 in Grand Forks. My questionnaire was so simple and brief that I expected a large return. However, I was somewhat disappointed in this, for only 81 farmers replied, about 19 per cent of those from

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Department Agriculture, Bureau Agricultural Economics, Lincoln, Nebraska.

enlarging farms in Bowman, 15 in Burleigh, and 25 in Grand Forks. The number of replies from those counties in the same order were 27, 22, and 32.

AAA county offices have their data organized on either the township or county basis—Grand Forks having the township system, Bowman and Burleigh counties the county system. In the township system, each township is broken down into large total tracts and each tract bears a number and usually consists of many different parcels. A farm may consist of one or more of the tracts of the numbered total or of tracts from two or more such totals. To find the total acreage of a farm for a given year, it is required to total the acreage of all the tracts composing it. John Smith's farm, we will say lies in tract 2, Grand Forks township. It is composed of the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ , the NE $\frac{1}{4}$  of section 16, and NW $\frac{1}{4}$  SE $\frac{1}{4}$  of section 15. The total acreage for the year 1945 was 360. In 1942, Smith's acreage was made up of the mentioned tracts in section 16 and north half of NW $\frac{1}{4}$  SE $\frac{1}{4}$  of section 15. His farm had grown 20 acres according to this record. In the counties organized on a county basis, the whole county is broken down into numbered totals of farms, and the acreage of a farm for 1942 and 1945 is obtained as in the case of the township system. The township system made it possible for me to study samples of all Grand Forks county farms by examining those of 19 of the 41 townships. I examined all the farms of those townships which were signed up, totaled the acreages of all

tracts of farm by farm for each of the years, discovered those gaining during the four seasons, and so obtained the final results. Where the county system obtained, all signed up farms of the county had to be examined, the totals obtained, and the comparison made. Where, as in Bowman county, numerous farms were composed of a dozen or scores of different tracts of land, it was a laborious and tantalizing task to make the summations. This was especially true when the tracts composing the farms were considerably different in 1942 and 1945. The writer devoted hours to computing the size of just one great Bowman county farm.

The years 1942 and 1945 were set for comparison in the study by the status of the records in the first county attacked in the program, Grand Forks. The first year lying back of 1945 which had a complete record of all farms of the townships making possible a comparison with 1945 was 1942. The year 1940 would have been preferred but the nature of the records, as also those of 1941, ruled that out. Bowman and Burleigh county studies had to follow the same pattern in order to make a comparison possible.

The issue is raised as to whether the sample was large enough to serve as a reliable sample. The answer is certainly yes, in view of the philosophy, the logic, and the practice of sampling. The Gallup and Fortune polls of voters predict the results of a national presidential election within one or two per cent of accuracy by

sampling less than 1/100 of one per cent of the national electorate. These 81 farms studied represent 2.2 per cent of all tri-county farms of 1945, and 19.1 per cent of all tri-county AAA farms which had undergone enlargement. For Grand Forks county these percentages were 1.6 and 24.6 per cent; for Burleigh county these percentages were 1.9 and 14.8, while in Bowman county they were 2.9 and 19.1 per cent. These samples are proportionally overwhelming larger than those of the Gallup and Fortune polls. We may thus take this study to be fairly representative of the counties studied and also of the state.

Table IV exhibits the number of AAA farms enlarging during the period involved, 1942-45, the number of these which replied to the questionnaire sent out to the operators of such farms, and the per cent of those addressed which replied.

The farmers who were addressed in the three counties returned a large variety of reasons why they enlarged their farms. Table V gives reasons which did not directly deal with crops or livestock, fourteen of these in all. The per cent of farmers who gave each specific reason is given for each

county, and the mean percentage of farmers so replying for the combined counties is seen in the last column. Looking at that last column it appears that the most prevalent reasons concerned raising the family standard of living. The next reason in rank was to offer opportunity for oncoming sons for a place on the farm. The third regarded better farm adjustment in view of improved machines and methods of farming. The fourth in rank concerned making a desirable investment in additional land. The fifth related to weed elimination. Bowman and Burleigh followed about the same order, while Grand Forks changed the ranking considerably, the order of the high four being opportunity for children, better farm adjustment, raising level of living, and making a desirable investment. Surprisingly, only in Bowman county did a concern for the security of the nation show itself in the replies. But that is to be regarded as accidental, not as basic. A number of reasons arise in Grand Forks county which do not occur in the other counties, such as providing for more diversified farming, ability to pay debts, practice summer fallowing, more pas-

TABLE IV. RETURNS FROM FARMERS TO WHOM QUESTIONNAIRE WAS SENT

County	Number of Farmers		Per cent Replies
	Addressed	Replies	
Bowman	145	27	18.6
Burleigh	149	22	14.7
Grand Forks	130	32	24.6
Total	424	81	19.1

Data and estimates as in Table III.

TABLE V. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING THINGS OTHER THAN CROPS AND LIVESTOCK AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING THE PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Item	Per cent of Reporting Farmers, by County			
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman	Mean
Better farm adjustment	45.8	28.8	37.7	37.3
More diversified farming	6.1			
Opportunity for oncoming sons	51.5	42.8	48.1	47.8
Desirable investment	27.2	14.3	22.2	21.2
"To make a living"	3.0			
Raise family standard of living	42.5	52.4	70.4	54.0
To "be able to pay debts"	3.0			
Practice summer fallowing	3.0			
More pasture	3.0			
Kill weeds let go by renters	3.0		11.1	7.1
For land with a house	3.0			
Take advantage of better prices	1.6			
In "country to stay"			3.7	
To make country secure			3.7	

Source of data and estimates as in Table IV.

ture land, to secure a house, better prices. Bowman's particular variants are national security and permanency of resident in county.

The percentage of farmers giving specific crops as reasons for farm enlargement is shown in Table VI. In Bowman county the order of ranking is wheat, flax, seed grains, oats and

barley, for the big five. In Burleigh the order of ranking is wheat, flax, barley, potatoes, and oats. The Grand Forks order is wheat, flax, potatoes and beets, barley, oats. Wheat and flax stand tops in all counties. Bowman stands alone in the mention of seed grain which rates third in frequency in that county. Burleigh em-

TABLE VI. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING PRODUCTION OF MORE OF FOLLOWING CROPS AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Crop	Per cent of Farmers per County		
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman
Wheat	42.5	66.6	61.6
Flax	39.4	52.4	57.7
Oats	12.1	19.1	15.4
Barley	12.5	40.0	15.4
Corn	6.1	4.8	3.9
Potatoes	15.1	28.6	3.9
Beets	15.1		
Soybeans	3.0		
Seed grains			42.3
Field peas	3.0		

Source of data and estimates as in Table III.

phasizes potatoes above the other counties.

The way the reasons emphasize livestock is to be observed in Table VII. Here Bowman and Burleigh appear as heavily concerned with providing more largely for livestock production. In frequency of mention by farmers the Burleigh county order of rank is cattle, hogs, poultry, sheep. In Bowman county the order of ranking is cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry. Due to the nature of the questionnaire first tried out (on Grand Forks county), the kinds of livestock were not specified, hence the nature of the percental reply in that county. So far as this record goes, it appears that livestock is a low ranking interest there as compared with Bowman and Burleigh counties, less than nine per cent of the farmers being interested to mention it. But the data is doubtless defective.

The above array of reasons for farm enlargement among North Dakota farmers demonstrates that the reasons are very numerous, about twenty-seven different reasons having been put forward. Evidently mechanization of farming occupies

a minor role, so far as reasons go. This matter will find further mention and discussion in the third section of this paper which deals with causes for farm enlargement.

### Cause of Farm Enlargement

We need not argue that there must be a connection between reasons and causes of farm enlargement. All reasons, the process of defining motives, are telic causes but not all causes are reasons, consciously defined motives. Reasons are largely the implementation of causes. Causes are the dynamic, propulsive forces which drive human beings to formulate reasons for taking action. People who act and give reasons for so doing often are unconscious of the cosmic drives which lead them to do so. Many farm laborers and renter operators leave farming because they say they can do better, stand a better chance to make a living, in cities. The drives may be population shifts, changing markets, mechanization of farming, a competent realization of which they do not attain.

A brief consideration of some of the background causes of farm en-

TABLE VII. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING PRODUCTION OF MORE OF FOLLOWING KINDS OF LIVESTOCK AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Kind of Livestock	Per cent of Farmers per County		
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman
Cattle		81.0	63.0
Hogs		57.1	25.9
Sheep		23.8	18.5
Poultry		42.8	7.4
More livestock	9.4		

Source of data and estimates as in Table III

largement is deserving. A sufficient argument and interpretation in each case will be made to establish an intelligent probability. The order of treatment has no relevancy to the rank of importance as cause of the various items. The writer doubts if anyone would be able to arrange the causes noted in a scientifically demonstrated ranking order. Anyway it is not important for the purposes of this study.

Population shifts pretty certainly act as causes in farm enlargement, although it is difficult to prove it beyond a shadow of a doubt. These are the synthetic results of all the innumerable changing conditions and pressures going on in the Great Society. The impact of such shifts, in their turn, react upon and determine the changes and direction of such changes in almost everything in that society. The living situation and the economic conditions of the farms of region, state, or nation are touched by great population movements and respond so as to adjust themselves to such changes. Let us consider this very patent case. During the last war, millions of undrafted men and women of adult age left farms and villages for war work in old or new cities. This brought on a farmer and a farm laborer shortage. It looks reasonable to think that a part of farm enlargement was in response to this labor shortage, that is, an unconscious effort of adjustment to make one farm operator take the place of two. Here we have to assume the presence of mechanized means of doing so.

That the size of farm has a bearing on population might be supposed. Our Table II shows that the average size of farm increases in passing from east to west in North Dakota, that of the eastern tier being 372 acres in 1940, of the middle tier, 534, and of the western tier, 640. The density of rural population runs in the reverse order, as also does the rate of gain and loss in county population. For the three tiers of counties, the eastern tier gained 3.5 per cent in county inhabitants for the decade ending 1940, the middle tier counties lost 4.7 per cent and the western tier counties lost 22.7 per cent. Between 1940 and 1945, the per cent of gain in mean size farm for those tiers of counties from east to west were: 5.0, 5.9, and 10.6. The per cent of loss of inhabitants between 1940 and 1943 in the same order were: —14.0, —17.6, and —18.7. The coefficient of correlation of per cent of change in mean size of farm between 1940 and 1945 and the per cent of loss of rural population from 1940 to 1943, by counties, was —0.17, giving the same kind of picture as the above.

To state the facts is not to prove a causal relationship between the two series of variables. This writer feels that the series vary together a good deal because both are produced by underlying conditions, but that also there is considerable inter-causality existing of the alternate kind, sometimes one factor being the cause of changes in the other factor, and sometimes the reverse. He knows of no way to make a completely objective proof of any of his suppositions.

The effect of urban increase of population as a result of a drift of inhabitants from farms would be to make larger markets and demands for farm produce, since in the new situation the migrants cease to produce their own foodstuffs from the soil. This in turn could well stimulate farm enlargement in order to supply the greater demand. This assumes decreased farm population and the material means to operate an increased farm acreage.

Practically all assert, whether they know anything about the case or not, that mechanized farming leads to enlarged farms. A somewhat informed judgment on the part of students of the farm economy supports the opinion. Thinking back over trends in farming in the Great Plains region, the writer is conscious of observed mechanization changes and development. He has been close to farming on the Plains since 1867 and has seen changes in breaking, plowing, cultivating, cutting, reaping, threshing implements that have taken place since that date. My father set up one horse farming in southeastern Kansas in 1867. He soon advanced to two horse plow and riding cultivator. Later the sulky riding plow came in with three horses. Then later appeared the gang plow pulled by two teams or by five horses. Planters, drills, harrows, cutters and reapers, threshers and harvesters came in succession. The evolution was from ten acre wheat fields to a hundred or more, from 20 or 40 acres of corn to 60 or 100 or 200. More power to cover

a larger acreage brought a demand for a greater acreage over which to spread the power. Just to state the case is to prove it. Enlargement of farms as a result of enlarging and diversifying farm machines is a conclusion we are driven to because of irrefutable proof.

Enlarged markets and improved marketing facilities for farm produce challenge our attention as causes of farm enlargement. The development of world markets certainly encouraged commercial farming, raising things to sell, not to consume on the farm. More farmers raised more stuff to sell into these markets. This striving to raise more and to sell more naturally and logically stimulated as great a farming acreage as farmers could manage. With the advent of greater and greater mechanical agencies, this striving eventuated into greater farm acreage and so, farm enlargement. In more recent days we have seen the marketing process speeded up by the development of improved highways and the use of great trucks to haul produce over them. They, too, have exercised a stimulating influence on farmers, impelling them to larger operations and to increased acreage.

A dearth of precipitation, other things being equal, may exert a drive toward farm enlargement. An annual precipitation which sometimes is sufficient to produce crops and furnish pastureage and sometimes is insufficient, may, after experience has demonstrated the wisdom of it, lead to operation of greater and greater acre-

age. Our accompanying chart on regional and graduated precipitation in North Dakota, Figure 1, when studied face to face with the figure on size of farm, by counties, is a convincing piece of evidence looking in that direction. It is immediately patent that as we proceed from east to west through the state that the size of farms increase and that the annual rate of precipitation grows less. The region in the state of largest farms is the region of least annual precipitation. A greater farm acreage in the southwest gives assurance that the greater pastures and more numerous low places where hay may be cut or crops grown conduces to a better chance of family support. It is to be noted also that loss of county popu-

lation correlates with lessening precipitation. A comparison of Figure 2 and Figure 6 confirms this.

We have seen that the farmers of North Dakota who had enlarged their farms offered a higher standard of living as one reason for that operation. Emulation of the standard of living set by others sustaining a higher one exercises a stimulating influence on ambitious and alert people to realize such a level of living for themselves and to do everything possible to affectuate it. In that sense, a desire for a higher level of living may readily become a cause impelling farmers toward farm enlargement. We saw that this reason was a dominant one among the farmers of the counties studied who had enlarged

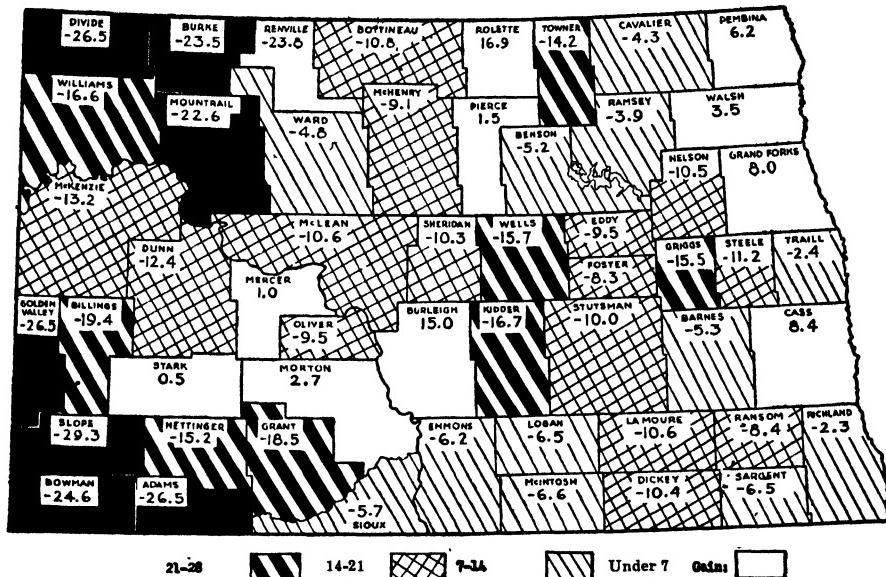


Figure 6. Changes in North Dakota county populations between 1930 and 1940. Minus sign means loss. Data from Census on Population, 1940, Vol. 1.

their farm acreage. It is safe to say that that reason also acted as a cause to move them in the given direction.

Changes in food tastes and so in demands for certain kinds of crops might well lend a stimulus to farm enlargement in certain areas. One may think here of the larger demand for wheat as a food during the last few decades. Wheat eaters are springing up all over the world where that cereal was not a food formerly. Wheat has become a large staple of food in China, Japan, Java which have been almost exclusively rice eaters from time immemorial. The amount of wheat exported in the world increased from about 650 million to 1,030 million bushels between 1910 and 1929. During the years of depression and drought in Canada and the United States, the export curve declined greatly. The stream of export that enlarged again after those disturbances was again broken by the great world conflict since the beginning of the forties. This increased world demand for wheat was registered in the enlargement of North Dakota farms. This increase was from an average size of 382 acres in 1910 to 496 acres in 1930 and finally to 588 acres in 1945. An increased wheat acreage was a large motive in this farm enlargement. The proportionate wheat acreage has actually increased in North Dakota during the period in question. The mean wheat acreage for the five year period, 1909-13 was about 46 per cent of the total state crop acre-

age. The mean percentage of wheat acreage for the five years 1926-30 was almost 50 per cent of the total crop acreage. The farmers have steadily gone out for more and more wheat. This is to be observed in Figure 7 where the mean acreage at different periods of the important crops is shown.

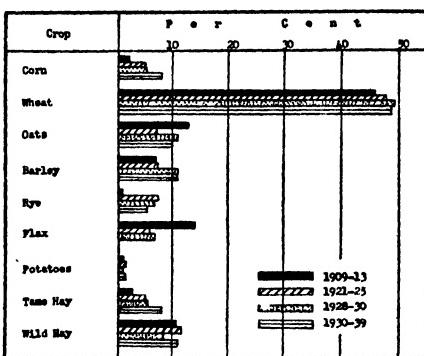


Figure 7. A measure of crop diversification in North Dakota, in terms of principle crop acreages. Data from U. S. Stat. Abstr. and Agricultural Yearbook. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

The advantages of growing wheat are obvious. It yields ready cash after being harvested. It is easy to produce because production is by big machines. It requires short periods of work at seeding and harvesting time in order to get it to market. It is clean work. For North Dakota large acreage it is the logical and rational crop to grow since it gives a very large yield per farmer and requires little manpower. An enlarged wheat acreage, given available land and advanced mechanization is easy to realize.

## NOTES

*Edited By Paul H. Landis*

### FARM VETERANS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

In connection with a survey of veterans' adjustments made during October-December, 1945 by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., certain data on file with local Selective Service Boards in two Idaho and two Washington counties were tabulated.<sup>1</sup> These tabulations show the extent to which the armed forces drew off the manpower from rural areas and reveal some of the characteristics of farm veterans which are related to their possible return to agriculture.

No claim is made that these counties represent the entire Pacific Northwest since each was originally selected to represent a stratum of major type-of-farming areas as part of a national study.<sup>2</sup> In 1940 rural-farm population comprised 22.5, 54.6, 33.8, and 25.1 per cent of the total population in the counties referred to here as A, B, C, and D, respectively. County A added a large military base but had little industrial expansion during the war years. B had neither military installations nor industrial expansion. Both A and B are distant from industrial centers. C is in an area which had extremely rapid development of war industries. D added military bases and was close to a new war plant which provided highly "essential" employment. These differences in wartime developments are reflected by the population trends. Changes in the total civilian population, between April 1, 1940 and November 1, 1943, as estimated by the Bureau of Census from ration book registrations, were as follows: A, -2.6 per

cent; B, -7.3 per cent; C, +98.3 per cent; and D, +44.1 per cent.

Without giving detailed statistics, the dominant farming patterns in the four counties may be characterized as follows: A—small family-operated dairy farms, considerable part-time farming; B—family-operated farms relying heavily on potatoes and sugar beets for income, highly seasonal demand for labor; C—dairying, poultry and diversified enterprises on family-operated farms, much part-time farming; D—large scale wheat farms and small, often part-time, truck farms. Farms with some hired farm labor ranged from 46 per cent in A to 67 per cent in B, as indicated by census reports on the number reporting expenditures for this purpose during 1939. However, most of the employment was of short duration. Farms reporting cash expenditures in 1939 for labor hired by the month were only 11.9, 18.7, 6.2 and 19.3 per cent, respectively, of the total in each county.

*Losses to armed forces by age groups.*—The armed forces made a heavy drain on the young manpower in all counties during World War II. Of the Selective Service Board registrants aged 18 through 25 at the time of the survey, from 71 to 84 per cent were or had been in service (Table I). Between 25 and 38 per cent of the registrants aged 26 through 44 were or had been in service. Information available for two of the counties indicates that most of the men in the group aged 26 and over were under 38. Thus, 44.7 and 59.4 per cent of the registrants aged 26 through 37 had been in service from counties A and B respectively as compared with 11.3 and 7.0 per cent of those aged 38 through 44.

Not all of these men were gone simultaneously. At the same time even these high percentages do not show the full extent of the loss of men to the armed forces. Men with a service record not registered with

<sup>1</sup> Data were made available through the cooperation of the respective State Selective Service headquarters and the local Selective Service Boards. Data for two of the counties were obtained by Michael R. Hanger, BAE.

<sup>2</sup> For description of the sampling procedure see Margaret Jarman Hagood and Eleanor H. Bernert "Component Indexes as a Basis for Stratification in Sampling", *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 40, pp. 330-341 (Sept. 1945).

local selective service boards at the time of the survey include National Guardsmen called into service before the first registration and not yet discharged, men who enlisted before the first registration or before or after the age of registration and not yet discharged, and reserve officers.

TABLE I. MEN SERVING IN WORLD WAR II AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS, BY AGE GROUPS.\*

County	Age		Total 18-44† %
	18-25 %	26-44† %	
A, Board 1	76.2	25.2	37.8
A, Board 2‡	83.5	35.3	45.8
Total A	80.3	31.3	42.6
B	75.7	38.1	51.1
C, Board 1	71.1	26.6	41.6
C, Board 2‡	78.5	26.4	41.1
Total C	73.6	26.5	41.4
D	80.0	28.4	42.3

\* Data from local Selective Service Board reports as of October 20, October 26, December 1, and December 12, 1945 for the 4 counties, respectively; age is as of these months.

† Men aged 45 and over with a service record are included.

‡ Board for exclusively urban areas. All other boards except No. 1, County A serve an area including one urban center in addition to the rural areas.

Registrants with a service record equaled about one-tenth of the 1940 total population in each county. The exact percentages were 9.8, 9.8, 11.2, and 10.6. Servicemen were equivalent to about one-third of the male working force aged 14 and over as reported for these counties by the 1940 U. S. Census, being 32.4, 34.9, 33.1, and 30.0 per cent, respectively. The future social, political, and economic effects of having had such a large percentage of the population, and especially of an age group, in the wartime armed forces offers opportunity for interesting speculation.

*Losses by residence and occupation.*—Rural areas in these sample counties will have fewer veterans than the urban to re-absorb into civilian life and agriculture will have fewer than non-agricultural occupations. This is because the data indicate the rural areas and agriculture tended to contribute relatively fewer men directly to the

armed forces, even though the drain was heavy on all segments.

Rural-urban comparisons are possible for two of the counties. For A, the rural Board (No. 1) had a smaller percentage of registrants in service than did the urban. This was true both for men 18-25 and those 26 and over (Table I). For county C the comparison is less clearcut because Board 1, in addition to the rural area, takes in a city with a population in 1940 of about 4,400 plus a large federal housing project which was built after Pearl Harbor. Although both C Boards contributed the same proportion of men aged 26-44, the more rural board had a smaller percentage of its younger registrants in service.

Servicemen with agriculture as the major pre-war occupation made up between 12 and 50 per cent of the total number from each of the "rural" Boards (Table II). The occupational classification in most cases was based upon the information given by the registrant in his Selective Service Questionnaire (D.S.S. Form 40). It is recognized that some men changed occupations between the time of filling out this questionnaire and the time of entering service but the changes were both into and out of agriculture.<sup>3</sup> An additional group of men, many of them in high school, reported agriculture as their current secondary occupation. This last group made up between 5 and 10 per cent of all registrants in service (Table II).

For each of the four Boards included in Table II, the percentage of servicemen with agriculture as the major pre-war occupation was somewhat smaller than was the ratio of males employed in agriculture to all males 14 years of age and over in the labor force (1940 U. S. Census); the dif-

\* Registrants attending school but also living and working on a farm were the chief problem in classification. Such persons were classified as having agriculture as the major occupation if the questionnaire was filled during a school vacation period or as the secondary occupation if filled at other times except that in County B boys attending school but working on a farm were tabulated as having agriculture the major occupation.

ference was 12.8, 4.7, 17.2, and 1.8 per cent, respectively. Some of the difference is undoubtedly due to occupational shifts out of agriculture between 1940 and the time of entering service. Entrance of men into the armed forces directly from school without ever having been in the labor force also accounts for some of the difference in all counties but B.<sup>4</sup>

with agriculture as a major occupation were a larger percentage of the inducted than of the enlisted group. This was true for both the younger and the older age classes for all four "rural" boards. These differences between agriculture and other occupations in the contribution of men to war appear to be a direct effect of national policies in combination with distinctive social and eco-

TABLE II. SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR OR SECONDARY PRE-WAR OCCUPATION AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL REGISTRANTS WITH SERVICE RECORD.<sup>1</sup>

County <sup>2</sup>	All Occupations		Agriculture Major		Agriculture Secondary	
	No.	No.	No.	Per cent <sup>3</sup>	No.	Per cent <sup>3</sup>
A, Board 1	1,791	461	26.2	154	8.8	
B <sup>4</sup>	1,841	893	50.3	85	4.8	
C, Board 1	3,338	401	12.6	318	10.0	
D	666	153	23.6	46	7.1	

<sup>1</sup> Based upon Selective Service Questionnaire D.S.S. Form 40 except where this form was not available, discharge papers or other records were used. Complete coverage of discharged men in all counties but C where 33 1/3 per cent sample taken. For men not discharged, a 20 per cent sample taken except for B and D where there was complete coverage on the enlisted group. The samples were stratified by age (18-25 and 26 and over) and service status (inducted and enlisted).

<sup>2</sup> The two boards for exclusively urban areas excluded because they had so few registrants with agricultural occupations.

<sup>3</sup> Percentages based upon the total number with known occupations which was 1,759; 1,776; 8,187; and 647, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> The two agricultural groups not strictly comparable with other counties because men who reported present occupation as school but also worked on a farm were tabulated in the group with agriculture as a "major" occupation.

Servicemen whose major occupation had been in agriculture were a smaller percentage of the number of male workers employed in agriculture in 1940 than were all servicemen as a percentage of all male workers in the labor force as of 1940. The comparative figures for the four non-urban boards are: A, 16.2 and 24.4; B, 27.6 and 34.9; C, 13.3 and 34.0; D, 27.2 and 30.0. The extremely large number of shifts out of full-time agriculture early in the war years and the heavy population increase since 1940 both help explain the great difference shown for C.<sup>5</sup>

It is of some interest to note that men

nomic characteristics of agricultural workers. Men producing food and fibre were encouraged to stay on the farm by deferment policies in effect a good part of the war period. Marriage at an earlier age, having families which are larger and at an earlier age, greater frequency of property ties, and more frequent intermingling of kinship ties with occupation are assumed to restrain men in agriculture from voluntarily entering military service as frequently as others.

Age, marital status, tenure status, and ties with relatives were tabulated for the servicemen whose major prewar occupation was agriculture.

*Age of farm veterans.*—Between half and two-thirds of the farm veterans were less than 26 years old (Table III). This is the age as of late in 1945, not the age at

<sup>5</sup> See note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Servicemen with agriculture as the current secondary prewar occupation were 5.4, 2.6, 10.5, and 8.2 per cent, respectively, of the male workers employed in agriculture in 1940.

entering service. In two counties (C and D) the farm veterans were a younger group than the non-farmers while in the other counties they were an older group.

In appraising the prospects that farm veterans will return to agriculture permanently upon discharge, it must be remembered that many farm boys entered service at or before the age they would normally have been expected to leave agriculture. The replacement rates in these counties is indicative of the pressure which is back of this normal migration from the farm. These rates for the 1940-50 decade for the rural-farm male population aged 25-69 are as follows: 134, 214, 116, and 156.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE III. AGE OF SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR PREWAR OCCUPATION.

County	Total	18-25	26 and over
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
A, Board 1	100.0	63.1	36.9
B	100.0	64.9	35.1
C, Board 1	100.0	53.6	46.4
D	100.0	48.4	51.6

*Martial status.*—Although many more are now married and have families, the proportion of farm veterans classified for selective service purposes as married prior to

entering service was only 11.9, 17.2, 7.5, and 12.4 per cent, respectively, in the four counties. Over 71 per cent of the farm veterans classed as married were in the older of the two age groups.

Martial and family status may well be factors influencing the decision of veterans to return to agriculture and the level at which they will be attracted. For example, the man who has married a non-farm girl may hesitate to go back to the farm. The veteran with a family may be reluctant to reenter at the hired farm laborer level.

*Tenure status.*—Wage hands and unpaid family laborers made up about three-fourths of the farm veterans in every county (Table IV). Operators accounted for most of the others. In nearly every case the operators were on small units that did not meet the minimum production requirements for deferment as an essential agricultural worker. Joint-owners were usually young, single men who had recently become the partner of a relative. In every county the men aged 18-25 were more heavily represented in the unpaid family laborer group and less heavily represented in the operator group than were the older men. In three counties the older men were represented more heavily in the hired labor group while in the fourth county both age groups were equally represented.

The unpaid family laborers may be expected to supply a large number of the farm veterans who will not reenter agriculture

TABLE IV. AGRICULTURAL STATUS HELD BY SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR PREWAR OCCUPATION.

Status	County			
	A, Board 1	B	C, Board 1	D
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Owner	3.5	2.6	6.2	5.9
Joint-owner	6.3	7.3	8.0	9.8
Tenant	15.6	13.8	5.0	7.2
Wage hand	41.2	41.8	36.9	54.9
Unpaid family laborer	31.0	32.1	41.2	20.9
Not known	2.4	2.5	2.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

upon discharge if alternative job opportunities are available. The youth of this group, coupled with the normal migration pattern, is the basic reason for such a prospect. Lack of definitely fixed wages suggests that many of the men in this group were occupying a role which was occupationally transitional and—in the sense of having their labor productivity utilized full time—economically marginal.

Property ties and experience suggest a high rate of return on the part of veterans who owned some of the land they operated. This is despite the fact that generally the farms operated did not justify deferment. Tenants who disposed of their livestock and equipment may have difficulty in getting re-established soon as they would not likely have been drawn into service unless they were economically marginal operators. Scarcity of farms to buy or rent, shortages in farm equipment and the high price of both will be obstacles to getting a start again. If wage hands are able to fellow through with their expressed intentions, relatively few will start off at the status they left.<sup>7</sup> Difficulties in getting a start as a farm operator, coupled with favorable non-farm opportunities would create a situation which would be expected to draw many of the hired laborers away from agriculture.

*Farming ties with relatives.*—Present prospects within these counties are that the veteran who has relatives on a farm willing

to help him will have the best chance of being an owner or renter in the near future. The percentage of farm veterans who had been engaged in farming with close relatives (usually parents) was 52, 52, 58, and 38, respectively, in four counties. Nearly all the unpaid family laborers and joint owners had been working with relatives. The proportion of tenants operating a farm for a relative was 47 and 35 per cent in counties A and B (the number of tenant cases were too small in the other two counties to justify presenting a percentage). Wage hands in all counties were the groups with the smallest percentage working for relatives, 19, 26, 26, and 13 per cent, respectively. In all counties a larger proportion of the men aged 18-25 than of the older men had been farming with relatives.

Assuming that those who owned land still hold it and that those who were farming with relatives could return at least temporarily, from 44 to 64 per cent of the farm veterans have some direct link with agriculture which may be utilized, at least temporarily, upon discharge. The hired men, particularly those aged 26 and over, are the group most lacking in such ties to fall back on as they return to civilian life.

*Discharged farm veterans.*—Over half of the farm veterans had been discharged in the two counties surveyed last (December 1945). At that time there was no evidence of any unusual permanent return movement to or withdrawal from agriculture on the part of farm veterans. Older men have been discharged first. The men to be discharged later will at least have whatever advantage rests in more frequently having ties with relatives in agriculture.

Olaf F. Larson.

BAE, USDA, Portland, Oregon.

<sup>7</sup> Olaf F. Larson and Michael R. Hanger, *Some Postwar Rural Trends in the Pacific Northwest*, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, February, 1946; Carl C. Taylor, "The Veteran in Agriculture", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1945, pp. 48-55.

## CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber\**

**Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Series Census-BAE**

- No. 1 (January 14, 1945) Estimates of Farm Population and Farm Households: April, 1944, and April, 1940.
- No. 2 (April 9, 1945) Farm Population Changes in 1944.
- No. 3 (May 7, 1945) Farm Operators in the United States: April, 1944, and April, 1940.
- No. 4 (June 19, 1945) Net Movement Away From Farms in the United States, by Age and Sex: 1940 to 1944.
- No. 5 (July 2, 1945) Recent Changes in Farm Population.
- No. 6 (October 15, 1945) Off-Farm Work of Farm Operators and Members of Their Households: 1943.
- No. 7 (May 2, 1946) Farm Population Changes: April, 1940, to January, 1946.

**United States Department of Agriculture,  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics**

**Farm Population Estimates, January, 1945.  
Farm-Population Adjustments Following  
the End of the War.**

The initiation of this series of reports represents the most significant improvement in the provision of information concerning the number and composition of the farm population since the publication of the first enumeration of farm population in 1920. The classic method of obtaining information concerning the number and characteristics of the population has been a "complete" census of enumeration. The expense and time required by this procedure have resulted in relatively long intervals between enumerations. So long as people were im-

mobile and the national government maintained a laissez faire attitude toward social and economic events the long interval between enumerations of the population was of no practical consequence since little immediate administrative use was made of the results.

However, as the parts of the national economy have become more closely interwoven and as the national government has expanded the scope of its activities, the necessity of more comprehensive information as a guide to effective administration has become increasingly apparent. Although complete census enumerations are just as essential today as ever before they cannot be counted on to provide current information. For this purpose a more inexpensive method by which data can be collected and prepared for use before it is outdated for administrative purposes is required. The utilization of modern principles and methods of sampling has to a considerable extent fulfilled this requirement.

The basic data for these releases were obtained from the 1940 Census and from sample enumerations conducted since that date. Additional information concerning the characteristics of the farm population not shown on the Population schedule was obtained by matching schedules from the 1940 Censuses of Population, Agriculture, and Housing for about 7,000 households in the 123 counties used in The Monthly Report on the Labor Force. The initial sample survey of about 4,000 farm households was conducted in April, 1944 and was designed to furnish detailed current information on farms, farm population, and farm employment. Regular sample enumerations have been conducted since that date.

These sample enumerations are part of the Monthly Report on the Labor Force which is a sample survey conducted each month to obtain current information on labor supply, employment, and other charac-

\* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny and William H. Metzler.

teristics of the population. The sample comprises some 30,000 scientifically selected households in 68 areas each of which includes one or more of 123 counties located in 42 states and the District of Columbia. The April, 1944 study was supplemented by using data from 44 additional counties selected from the master sample of farms developed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the Iowa State College and the Bureau of the Census.

Although annual estimates of the farm population have been made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics since World War I, the estimates in this series of releases are the first which have been based upon controlled methods of sampling. The previous estimates were based upon voluntary mail returns from farm reporters; the representativeness of these reporters and of the areas for which they reported was unknown so that considerable uncertainty was attached to the results. Of course the fact that the current estimates are derived from enumerations in sample areas deliberately selected so as to represent correctly the entire nation does not ensure that the results are superior to those of earlier years. But since the procedure of collecting the data is subject to direct control it should be possible to modify it whenever experience shows this to be necessary in order to achieve results of a high degree of reliability.

In addition to the former series of annual estimates of farm population the current releases provide a series of quarterly estimates of the noninstitutional farm population classified by sex and broad age groups—under 14 years and 14 years and over—beginning with January, 1944. The fact that the size of the farm population fluctuates rather widely from one season to another is well known; the extent of this seasonal shift now is ascertainable for the first time. During the past two years there has been a variation of about 800,000 in the number of persons living on farms between the date of the smallest number, usually around the end of the last quarter of the year, and the

date of the largest number during the summer months.

The current series of releases emphasize the necessity of a clarification of the definition and concept of farm population. Two questions are involved; firstly, what is a farm, and secondly, should the decision as to whether a person is part of the farm population be based upon residence or upon occupation. In the past the farm population has included persons living on farms (usually outside of urban areas) with the decision as to whether a given tract of land was a farm being made by the several thousand enumerators engaged in taking the census.

If living on a farm makes a person a member of the farm population, then does living in a building used for a grocery store make a person a member of the storekeepers population or does living on mining property make one a member of the mining population? Forty years ago it was fairly safe to assume that persons living on farms were either farmers or belonged to farm families. This assumption has become increasingly less tenable during recent years.

In April, 1944, 30 per cent of the farm operators reported one or more days of nonfarm work during 1943 with 11.5 per cent reporting 250 or more days of non-farm work. Surely the farming activities of the latter group are more of an avocation than of a vocation.

One of the most valuable features of the current procedure of sample surveys of the number and characteristics of the farm population is the opportunity of investigating a number of different ways of defining and describing the farm population. The people who live on farms are no longer a homogeneous occupational group. The time has come for the exploration of improved ways of classifying the population living in rural areas. An important first step has been made by the classification of farm operators in accordance with their principal occupation, the number of days worked off the farm, and the number engaged in non-farm work.

A minor criticism is in order. These releases continue the evasive platitude found

in other releases of the Bureau of the Census illustrated by the following: "The estimates, being based on sample data, are subject to sampling variation, which may be large where the quantities shown are relatively small." No indication is given as to how small a quantity must be before the sampling variation becomes large. Presumably these estimates are published with the expectation that they will be of use to other agencies or persons. But without any indication of how large "large" is or how small "small" is, the bewildered reader must either accept the published estimates as correct to the last digit shown or reject them altogether. Surely the persons responsible for the collection and analysis of the data have some knowledge of the approximate range of sampling error of the estimates.

The release, "Farm Population Estimates, January, 1945" is a continuation of the estimates which have been prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics since 1920 showing the movement to and from farms and from farm to farm based upon reports from cooperating farmers. The estimates have been adjusted to agree with the farm population of the entire country as estimated by the sample survey.

"Farm-Population Adjustments following the End of the War" is a summary of current field reports made by professionally trained observers in a sample of 71 counties. These reports are of value in furnishing background information for the interpretation of the numerical results obtained by the regular sample enumeration. As yet unanswered however, is the question of how many of the young men who were inducted into the armed forces from farms will permanently return to their homes.

HAROLD F. DORN.

U. S. Public Health Service.

**Survey of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics,**

Washington, D. C. Reports Nos. 1-10,  
Issued May, 1945-June, 1946

No. 1. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Special Crop Areas*

*of Florida, February-March, 1945*, by Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood.

No. 2. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Maricopa County, Arizona and Imperial County, California, February-March, 1945*, by Barbara B. Reagan and William H. Metzler.

No. 3 *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Special Crop Areas of Louisiana, April-May, 1945*, by Louis J. Ducoff and Gladys K. Bowles.

No. 4. *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Farm Workers, United States and Major Regions, March 1945*, by Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood.

No. 5. *Wages and Wage Rates of Farm Workers in the Citrus Harvest, Los Angeles Area, California, April-June, 1945*, by William H. Metzler.

No. 6. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in USDA Labor Supply Centers at Arvin, Linnell, and Shafter, California, June 1945*, by William H. Metzler.

No. 7. *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Farm Workers, United States and Major Regions, May 1945*, by Louis J. Ducoff and Barbara B. Regan.

No. 8. *Wages and Wage Rates of Potato Harvest Workers on Long Island, New York, Week Ended September 1, 1945*, by Catherine Senf.

No. 9 *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers at Selected USDA Labor Supply Centers in North Central California, August-October 1945*, by William H. Metzler.

No. 10. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in the Harvest of Selected Truck Crops, California, 1945*, by William H. Metzler.

The series which these studies introduce is notable. It represents a serious effort to bring to agricultural wage labor the protecting coverage of that statistical network which long ago the Department of Agriculture threw over wheat, cotton, hogs, potatoes, and the operators of farms.

During the early decades of its existence

the USDA expressed a limited interest in farm labor through occasional brief reports on the adequacy of the farm labor supply, county by county, from the point of view of farm operators. In 1901 the U. S. Industrial Commission published a report bearing the title "American Farm Labor," prepared at its instance by J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the USDA. This appears to be the first systematic official examination of agricultural laborers in their own right. During the following three decades a small number of special studies on farm labor appeared; an historical wage series of uncertain value, dating from 1866, was kept current; and a very undependable series of figures purporting to relate labor supply and demand by state or area, was published periodically beginning about World War I. But until the end of the 1920's or early 1930's the USDA evidently regarded it as unnecessary to assign any of its professionals to devote full attention to this element of the agricultural population comprising one-fourth of those making their living in agriculture.

In 1937 Secretary Wallace suggested a reorientation of Department interest when by specific statement he included "those who till the soil for hire as well as those who cultivate it as tenants or owners" among the people whose welfare the USDA is intended directly to further. Gradually, by establishment of camps for migratory laborers and construction of laborers' homes under Farm Security Administration, by administration of wage provisions of the Sugar Act, and by occasional labor surveys, the Department was beginning to give effect to this declared intention. The present series of reports constitutes an initial full-scale contribution from its statisticians toward the same purpose.

Reports already published in this series are of two types: (1) wages of harvest workers in special crops in particular localities, as disclosed by special studies in the field; (2) wages and wage rates, by region and type-of-farming area, as disclosed by national sample enumerations to be repeated periodically.

(1) Localities and crops in which to study

harvest workers have been chosen well to include migratory workers. The studies include strawberry, vegetable and citrus workers in Florida, potato harvesters on Long Island, strawberry pickers in Louisiana, lettuce harvesters in Arizona, and harvesters of crops in various parts of California.

The Florida report may be used as illustration of what these studies cover. For single selected weeks in February and March, 1945 information was obtained by sampling methods on wage rates and earnings of 2,000 seasonal workers. These included citrus pickers, strawberry pickers, and vegetable workers, respectively, in three localities.

In citrus a sample of 28 packing houses, stratified by volume of output, was taken from the total of 249 houses in the area. From the smaller houses the wage records of all pickers were taken; from the largest, the records of all pickers in the gangs of three foremen. From a list, supplied by the AAA, of 110 strawberry growers around Plant City, every fifth name was chosen, and wage data were obtained for every picker employed during the selected week of activity. In the vegetable area data for a week were obtained from every fifth (or tenth) family registered at six WFA Labor Supply Centers, and every second (or fourth) single worker.

Results present a clean-cut picture. Strawberry pickers averaged 32 cents per hour, vegetable workers 57 cents, and citrus pickers \$1.02. Berry pickers averaged 18 hours of work for the week on the farm reporting (males aged 18-44 averaged 27); white vegetable workers averaged 42 hours, and Negroes 34 (males aged 18-44 averaged 54 and 44 hours, respectively); citrus pickers averaged 31 hours (domestic, or local, whites averaged 36, Negroes 29, imported foreign workers 36, and prisoners of war 38 hours, respectively). Low earnings and hours of berry pickers may be accounted for in part by failure to include work during the week elsewhere than on the particular farm studied. Difference in earnings between white and Negro vegetable workers arose largely from difference in operations per-

formed, rather than from difference in rate received for performing the same operation.

Great variation in earnings is a recognized characteristic of migratory seasonal labor. The studies measure this to a degree. Strawberry pickers averaged only \$5.70 per week for work on the reporting farm; but this average conceals the significant fact also shown in the report, that males aged 18-44 averaged \$15, "other males" \$4.80, and females \$5.90. White vegetable workers averaged \$28 for the week, while males aged 18-44 earned \$38.90, and females \$19.50. Citrus pickers averaged \$31.70. Domestic white pickers as a group had top earnings, with \$36.50; imported foreign workers were next with \$34.90; then domestic Negroes with \$30.50; and at the bottom, prisoners of war with \$16.20.

These examples are in recognition of the importance of distribution of earnings to the extent of providing several averages, each based on the earnings of a significant group. Further light on distribution, which often is more significant than the average, was provided occasionally by grouping individuals into income classes. Thus, 27 per cent of citrus pickers earned less than \$20 a week, and nearly 27 per cent earned \$50 or more, when the average for all pickers was \$31.70.

Earnings of strawberry pickers are classified by age and sex. Males averaged 29 cents an hour and females 34 cents, a substantial differential in favor of female pickers. Pickers under ten years of age averaged 19 cents an hour, and those 45 and over averaged 46 cents.

At the WFA Labor Supply Centers, hourly earnings of white males aged 18-44 averaged (for all agricultural work performed) 72 cents, earnings of "other males" averaged 66 cents, and of females 60 cents. Among Negro workers these differentials were smaller; males aged 18-44 earned 57 cents, "other males" 53 cents, and females 53 cents.

The reports permitted investigators a good deal of flexibility from area to area; tabulation has not been made according to a master form applied rigidly everywhere.

Such adaptation to particular situations has much to commend it; and probably the reports show a sufficient uniformity to make possible most of the comparisons that will be found desirable.

It is to be hoped that this series of reports will grow to something like complete coverage of important areas, adding one bench mark after another in the manner of the Geological Survey covering the country with topographic maps. Their usefulness for many purposes will probably receive early demonstration, and continue to receive it over the years.

(2) A second type of report in this series, e.g., numbers 4 and 7, is based upon nationwide enumerative surveys designed to develop data on the wage and employment structure in agriculture, by region and by type-of-farming area. To date, the published studies cover wages and wage rates by regions, for selected weeks in March and May, 1945, with another report covering September to follow.

These enumerations are to be continued annually as part of BAE wage statistics work, and will yield data on many phases of agricultural labor. For example, the May, 1945, enumeration reveals that average cash farm wages rose from 35 to 37 cents per hour since March, and employment of wage laborers increased by 43 per cent. Hired workers averaged 4.1 per employing farm in the West, and only 1.4 in the North Central States. Fifty-three per cent of all wage workers were on the 125,000 farms which employed 4 or more. The number of seasonal workers (less than 6 months work expectation) reached 1,456,000 in May. Interesting classifications by age, sex, color, value of farm product sales, are included. Data are shown on length of the work-day, types of wages paid, relationship of worker to operator, and on other points.

This national enumeration will furnish basis for studies in future on value of prerequisites, on wage differentials among type-of-farming regions and among types of farms within these regions, and on wages in relation to type of work and sex of worker.

Report 4 includes an important appendix on the comparability of estimates based on this enumerative survey with other available statistics. The new enumeration will yield distribution of workers by wage rate, as well as the average, a great gain. The absence of data on annual earnings remains a serious gap.

Another result of the national enumeration will be improvement in the historical series on farm wage rates which, among other imperfections, have failed to cover price rates, which are prevalent in the Northeast and West.

The BAE is to be congratulated on its decision to support these substantial studies of agricultural labor, and those members of the staff responsible for their execution are to be commended for their skill and understanding. This is a promising beginning.

PAUL S. TAYLOR.

University of California.

#### Farm Labor

*Two years of farm wage stabilization in California*<sup>1</sup> is a report on the inception and operation of wartime farm wage controls in that State. California farmers were alarmed when wages continued to spiral after ceilings had been placed on the prices of their products. The farmers appealed to the War Food Administration to establish maximum piece rates on harvest operations in their crops. The first of these was instituted for the asparagus harvest in March, 1943 and was followed by specific ceiling rates for raisin grape, tomato, and cotton harvest operations in the same year. By the end of 1944 similar ceilings had been instituted for operations in approximately 20 different crops in the State employing some 200,000 harvest workers. These specific ceilings were supplemented by a general wage regulation issued by the War Food Administration which established 85 cents an hour as the maximum rate for farm jobs not covered by special ceilings.

<sup>1</sup> William H. Metzler. *Two years of farm wage stabilization in California*. 65 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Berkeley, Calif., Feb. 1946.

An outstanding feature of the program was the use of local committees of farmers and workers to pass on requests of growers to pay more than the ceiling rate. This device permitted growers with light yields or poor field conditions to obtain their share of the short labor supply. This was a very new type of public activity for farm workers and they did not function effectively in all communities. The method was usually quite successful, however, and farmers and workers gained in facility in working together on farm wage rate problems.

#### Rural Youth

The study, *Rural children and youth in Ohio*,<sup>2</sup> analyzes some situations and problems which affect rural youth. Data were obtained from the 1940 Census, vital statistics reports and Selective Service bulletins. Besides graphs and tables throughout the text, there are nine tables at the end of the report. Migration of young women to urban industry, while many young men were deferred for farm work, has resulted in a great excess of males over females on Ohio farms, particularly in the ages 18-30 years. This is one reason why the farm population has not shared in the decided rise in births since 1940. Many young people continue to live with their parents after marriage and frequently do not become heads of their own households until relatively late in life. The author concludes that there are powerful factors in the farm environment that discourage marriage on the part of youth. Birth rates per 1,000 rural young women were highest in the economically poorest areas of Ohio and were lowest in the better areas. Death rates in rural Ohio were lowest among children 5-14 years old, but rose progressively at each higher age level.

In 1940 less than half of all farm youths in any five-year age period had graduated from high school. Boys were more retarded in school than girls and all farm youths had

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Mangus, *Rural children and youth in Ohio*. Ohio State Univ. Mimeo. Bul. 185. 57 pp., Columbus, July 1945.

less formal schooling than did urban youths of comparable ages.

Selective Service rejection rates were higher among registrants whose occupation was in agriculture than in any other major occupational group. "The leading causes for rejection of young Selective Service registrants were in order of importance: mental illness, crippling defects, failure to meet minimum intelligence standards, defects of the heart and blood vessels, hernia, ear defects, eye defects, neurological defects and tuberculosis. These account for 78.5 per cent of all rejections of registrants 18-25 years old in the United States in February and March, 1944." The author concludes that these findings show a need for research into the health status of rural youth.

An analysis of *Occupational selection in rural communities*<sup>4</sup> was the objective of a series of interviews in 1942 with 146 young men in some rural communities in South Carolina. All of them had been interviewed 5 years previously and had at that time given some information concerning their backgrounds, their vocational plans, their education, social participation, personal problems, and related matters. The interview in 1942 was a follow-up to determine the occupational status at that time. Approximately half the group in 1942 was then engaged in farming and the other half was not. No significant differences could be established between the groups in farm and nonfarm occupations, in relation to age of the individual, age of father, size of family, number of brothers, size of farm, number of cultivated acres, possessions score, rate of progress in school, study in vocational agriculture, membership in 4-H Clubs, church membership, participation in recreational activities, and the subject preferred for activity programs. Some differentials were found between the two groups with reference to whether or not the parents owned an automobile in 1936-37, the years of school

completed, the expressed occupational preferences and membership in the Future Farmers of America.

#### Rural Government

Governmental institutions in nine Vermont towns<sup>5</sup> were analyzed for a 12-month period to determine local geographic sources of incomes and allocations of expenditures, mainly for the year 1939. Over 80 per cent of the tax base in these towns was made up of real estate, of which more than half was within village limits. The town now has complete control over a much larger share of the highway system in the poorer land classes than in the more favored areas where more control is shared with the State. Expenses for maintaining roads in the open country were greater than taxes assessed for that purpose. Village and rural areas each paid their proportionate share of school costs; in the better and the poorest land classes more money was raised for school purposes than was required for the education of children of residents, but in land class 3 the school tax assessment was insufficient. The proportion of rural families receiving relief ranged from 1 per cent of all families in land class 1 to 12 per cent in land class 4. The major demand for assistance, however, was from village families. In the village areas the institutions supply individual needs most liberally, and in the open country services decline from land class 1 to land class 4. Only in land class 1 does revenue collected exceed outlays, but for the towns as a whole incomes and expenditures were practically in balance.

#### Rural Trends

Missouri Research Bulletin No. 401 surveys *Some effects of the war on rural life in Missouri, 1939-1945*<sup>6</sup> and some pressing

<sup>4</sup> Robert M. Carter. *The development and financing of local governmental institutions in nine Vermont towns*. Vt. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 529, 66 pp. Burlington, May 1946.

<sup>5</sup> Gerard Schultz. *Some effects of the war on rural life in Missouri, 1939-45*. Mo Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 401, 36 pp. Columbia, Apr. 1946.

<sup>6</sup> Theo Lafayette Vaughan. *Occupational selection in rural communities*. 61 pp. Little Rock, Ark., 1945.

postwar problems. The review of wartime changes is summarized as follows: "On the whole, rural life was not seriously disrupted by the war. There were fewer people on farms and they worked harder. Rural organizations did not appear to suffer. There seems to have been some increase in local cooperative effort, chiefly by way of mutual aid. No social or cultural upheaval occurred. Rural Missouri 'took the war in stride,' so to speak. Perhaps the most profound effects have been registered in terms of changes in attitudes, outlook and habits of thinking. If so, more time will be required to observe accurately the nature of these changes."

#### Community Organization

*Rural-urban coordination*<sup>6</sup> describes how cooperation may be secured between organizations in a rural community and its trading-center town. It explains the origin and functions of the Rural-Urban Coordinating Council of the City of Bellevue, Ohio, and the surrounding townships. Suggestions are given for setting up a similar program in other communities, including a constitution outline for its council. The author shows how the needs of most communities could be met through attainment of definite goals in the following fields: (1) protection, (2) public utility services, (3) complete government services, (4) educational advantages, (5) religious and charitable work, (6) economic conditions, (7) leisure-time program, (8) business and professional services, (9) health and sanitation, (10) social program, (11) cooperative services, and (12) community planning.

#### Miscellaneous

A second study<sup>7</sup> of the relationship of farm women to cooperatives has been issued by Cornell University. The same sample of

<sup>6</sup> C. S. Hunsinger. *Rural-urban coordination*. 48 pp. Second Edition-Revised. Rural-Urban Coordinating Council. Flat Rock, Ohio, 1945.

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Anderson. *Farm women and the services of a farmers' cooperative*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 17. 34 pp. Ithaca, Nov. 1945.

544 farmers' wives from three selected areas in New York was used in both studies. The majority of the women interviewed were middle-aged wives in average size farm-owner households with considerable farm experience and whose schooling was sufficient for the building of a sound promotional program in cooperative principles. It was found that participation of the women in the operation of the cooperatives serving them was negligible. Participation through stockholding, purchasing and selling of products was carried out almost entirely by the husband. Although the women have little knowledge about the cooperatives serving them, few of them want further information. Their opinions about practices and principles of operation are intangible and they have few ideas of the fundamental advantages of cooperatives. They praise goods and services because of quality, price and convenience. The services emphasized most frequently are freezer lockers, sale of fresh fruit, household electric appliances, men's work clothing and equipment repair services. When a list of eight possible additional services was presented, only 48 per cent of the women checked one or more services as desired. These women emphasized clothing and dry goods, especially work clothes, freezer lockers and groceries.

The purpose of this study of *History of legislation and policy formation of the Central Valley project*<sup>8</sup> is to trace the development of the guiding policies for the Central Valley project and the processes by which certain changes in policy were made by the Federal and State governments and by private groups connected with the project. The material presented has been drawn entirely from public records. The report traces water planning in California by Federal and State agencies from the Alexander investigation of 1873 to the adoption of the Central Valley project. Policy development since the

<sup>8</sup> Mary Montgomery and Marion Clawson. *History of legislation and policy formation of the Central Valley project*. 276 pp. Bur. of Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Berkeley, Calif. Mar. 1946.

approval of the project as a Bureau of Reclamation project in 1935, comprises the latter half of the report. Special attention is given to the Federal policies with respect to the excess land provisions of the United States Reclamation Law, the right over the control and distribution of project power, and problems of repayment of the Federal investment.

Changes brought about in *Red Wing churches during the war*<sup>9</sup> are described in a study of the 10 major church bodies and the six minor groups located in Red Wing, Minnesota. Through surveys and questionnaires obtained in 1942 and 1945, the following changes were noted: (1) growth in membership, (2) increase in finances, (3) support of war-related projects such as the Red Cross, (4) emphasis on personal ministry to bereaved and troubled families. Although the ministers reported servicemen were more interested in religion than before entering the armed forces, there was a general lack of plans with reference to the returning veteran. Sectarianism and inter-church cooperation were little affected by the war, with Christian unity apparently as remote as ever. The fact that there are few representatives of minority groups in Red Wing may account for the absence of feelings of intolerance toward them. The author concludes that "the war has affected but little the even tenor of the ways of Red Wing churches."

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<sup>9</sup> Lowry Nelson. *Red Wing churches during the war.* 21 pp. The Community Basis for Postwar Planning. Number 7. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, Mar. 1946.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Edited By Howard W. Beers*

*All These People.* By Rupert B. Vance.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. 503. \$5.00.

This latest product out of Chapel Hill by Vance is a magnificent volume. It continues a series of encyclopedic cultural-statistical studies of the South and its place in the Nation. *Human Geography of the South and Southern Regions of the United States*, two other outstanding volumes in the series, along with this volume comprise a trilogy, each complementing the other. The first revolves around the southern environment and its impact on human culture and welfare; the second differentiates the cultural regions of the South and shows the place of the South in the Nation; the third, as the title suggests, revolves around the people and the social problems created by population dynamics and imbalance.

*All These People* has been in preparation for seven years. After it was completed, war time printing difficulties held up final publication for several months. Its release comes at a strategic time—the beginning of a post-war era of accelerated social change and ideological confusion. Those students and leaders who would understand and guide social change during the next generation will do well to ponder the facts of this book, but particularly the ideological frame of reference into which its author has fitted the facts.

This work is not just another book about the South. Its sub-title suggests a broader approach: *The Nation's Human Resources in the South*. Indeed the fundamental social problems discussed therein are national and international in scope. It "is a book about the nation in which we discuss the nation's human resources in the region we know best." (Foreword) As such it is indispensable in any thoroughgoing study of population trends in the nation as a whole. The materials, tables and charts, show condi-

tions and trends for the entire nation and for its major regions and for its states.

This volume is divided into five major parts and thirty-two chapters. The scope and character of the study is indicated by the subject titles of the major parts: *Dynamics of Population, Population and the Agrarian Economy, Population and the Industrial Economy, Cultural Adequacy of the People, Social Policy and Regional-National Planning*.

At the very beginning of part I, Vance presents a clear statement of his social philosophy of population study. Population facts must be interpreted against a background of social values. National survival is the most basic of all social values. After survival, people are concerned with higher standards of living. Excessive birth rates threaten high standards of living and a declining birth rate threatens national survival. The problem then is: How can a balanced population be achieved for the Nation and for the South?

The situation of the South in the population picture is well-known, but Doctor Vance brings in much new evidence and reveals many hidden relationships and factors. The fertility pattern of the southern population is exhaustively analyzed. Comparisons with other regions are given. High fertility has led constantly to a heavy out-migration of southern people. But migration has not been sufficient to ease the pressure of population on the poor land areas of the South. Under the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and rising standards, southern rural people are lowering their birth rate. The time is not far distant when the rural South cannot provide the surplus population needed in the deficit industrial-metropolitan areas. How these major trends are related to land tenure, cropping systems, farm mechanization, rural industry, race relations, health, education, and social planning comprise the major part of the book.

The principal conclusion of this book is that a regional-national population policy must be formulated. Although social policymaking is an art carried on mostly by politicians, Doctor Vance believes that social research has a very important contribution to make. Given certain basic social values, the sociologist can provide the facts and the blue prints for achieving the highest and best expression of those values. Policy makers have confidence in the conclusions and recommendations of a social scientist who has painstakingly analyzed the facts and arrived at a set of unbiased recommendations.

One of the major policies for easing population pressure in the South appears to be a program of education, health, and better living which will reduce excessive rural birth rates in the South to a level which will maintain the population of the region. The South, Doctor Vance concludes, should not be expected to produce the surplus population for the remainder of the Nation. Yet he sees the danger in a superficial, undirected birth control program. Along with the freedom and knowledge to limit births must go a new set of social values "based on family affection, national survival, and economic security." This implies that an urban environment must be created which will encourage the growth of normal sustaining families.

In his final chapter Vance speaks to the Nation. Sectionalism is narrow and destructive. We are one Nation and the South's problems are national problems. There is no one simple program which will bring the South up with the rest of the Nation. A balanced program is needed. National programs, such as social security, must be expanded to meet needs of southern agricultural groups. Human resources must be developed along with natural resources. Industrialization of the South should be promoted on the basis of fair wages, good living conditions, and sound planning. Or to put it in a nutshell, "the South wants to share in the Nation's future."

This book will find wide use as a text in population problems and as a source book

for courses in rural sociology and agricultural economics. It will also be used widely for general reading in all social science courses and as a guide to the effective use of population data in social research. It sets a high standard of solid restrained scholarship which has rarely been equalled in American social science.

C. HORACE HAMILTON.  
Commission on Hospital Care, Chicago.

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*In Search of the Regional Balance of America.* By Howard W. Odum and Katherine Jocher. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. 162. \$3.00.

This volume reviews the first quarter century of the work of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and of *Social Forces* as a part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the University of North Carolina. Contributors to the volume, other than Odum and Jocher, include Rupert B. Vance, William Fielding Ogburn, Charles S. Johnson, Edith Webb Williams, Edgar T. Thompson, T. J. Woofter, Ruth Landes, T. Lynn Smith, C. Hermann Pritchett, Elizabeth Green and Craighill Handy. Nevertheless, a proper review requires discussion of the life work of Odum, an analysis of his theories of regionalism and a few remarks concerning the present psychology of the South. All the other writings are merely incidental to the creative work by Odum, who since 1905 has steadily evolved the Institute, *Social Forces*, and this self-appraised by the South. No center or group has assumed literary and critical leadership in the South since the "Greek Democracy School" of the pre-Civil War days of Charleston as has this school founded by Odum.

If on the basis of this report, Odum and his work be compared with contemporary sociologists and theirs, the balance all belongs to Odum. Few are the contemporary sociologists who saw in their youth what they wanted to do; who spent years in working toward a creative goal; or who, after their maturity, can look back at such a

worthwhile social goal achieved. They blossom early and then seed into "method"; they write a "brilliant" thesis and then become bureaucrats; or if they continue to write, their vulgarization and resimplification of "concepts" would make the shade of Aristotle writhe in his Hellenic hades. Not so with Odum. Starting fifteen years before empiricism became the dominant method of sociology, he began the spot studies which were to culminate in the Institute. And in the present period when statisticians themselves do not understand what they are measuring, or if they are measuring anything, this Institute continues in its first-approximation really creative social science research.

All these things must be said for Odum because he deserves them; and about him in the hopes that a few other creative minds might develop in the sociology of tomorrow.

When we look at Odum's conception of the region we find that he has come to accept the idea that cultural groups of this type are "realistic" instead of nominalistic organisms and that regions may differentiate themselves according to the amount of cultural realism they possess. His laboratory, the South, is "the region where the greatest reality abounds". However, neither here nor elsewhere does Odum give us a clear-cut analysis of the geophysical and social elements which eventually lead to a realistic regionalism of peoples. Part of this is due to the fact that he has concentrated almost solely upon one region and has inevitably used many of the particularizing methods of history instead of the comparative analysis essential for a discovery of the generic and variable forces in such a regional personality development. Other possible reasons are his unconscious participation in the ethnocentrism of the South and the fact that the other regions of the United States are at present integrated much more mechanically than socio-psychologically as is the South. And since Odum has not explored the realism of the South as a region more fully, it is possible that further work will lead to a more critical (in the sense of discerning type-trait)

analysis of the personality of the South.

To a considerable extent, the post-reconstruction South has returned to the arrogance of the Greek Democracy days of the Charlestonian dominated fifties. Odum and his group, while they are the most critical of Southerners (and here critical means telling unpleasant truths) have contributed in part to this new arrogance. They have done this unconsciously through their failure to carry their type-trait regional analysis to its ultimate end. Their collections of "facts" (either pleasant or unpleasant) can be the basis of a developing provincialism, ethnocentrism or arrogance, on the one hand, or of a sound typological understanding on the other. There are millions of forward-looking and well-intended people in every section of the South, in spite of its apparent domination by the Claghorn type persons. But they must have back of their strivings for leadership common intellectual convictions based upon a clear and sound self-analysis of the South. The failure to read this position is the basic criticism of Odum's Institute; and the doing of it is its next necessary step.

Yes, the South needs Federal aid for "all these people." But more than that, and complementing it, is the need by the rest of the country for aid from the South. To illustrate, the South needs a new cotton, new animal types for milk and beef, a new health program and a new diet. But the nation needs a decent enforcement of the race laws, some Christian humility among the poor-whites and their leaders, and a willingness of the Southern states to hire, intellectually support and use the best available pathologists, chemists, plant and animal breeders and other scientists trained largely at Federal expense in Northern universities.

In other words, the South needs the "North" and the rest of the nation needs the South. Mutual "aid" is essential for the welfare of both. Such a necessary interchange requires humility, instead of arrogance, from the South. Cotton is not one of God's Pallas Athene daughters, to be fondled

only with the consent of arrogant Claghorn-Zeuses.

These few remarks "in search of the regional balance in America" are intended, on the one hand, to pay tribute to a great thinker and leader, and, on the other, to point out some of the Southern barriers to such a regional balance.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

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*Nationalities and National Minorities.* By Oscar I. Janowsky. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1945. Pp. xix + 232. \$2.75.

The conflicts of national minorities in east central and southeast Europe remain among the pressing problems of the peace. Professor Janowsky, writing on the basis of league Secretariat studies and direct observation, seeks his solution by analyzing the constitutional structure in areas where minorities exist, but conflict is minimal. National federalism in Switzerland, where the French- and Italian-speaking minorities total 26.4 per cent of the population, the bi-lingual Boer-English Dominion of South Africa, and the "multi-national state" of the Soviet Union, are the three case studies. The main emphasis is on the Soviet nationality situation.

The Swiss and South African cases demonstrate that the apparatus can be adjusted to provide the minority with cultural and lingual independence, and some degree of political expression, without disintegrating a small state. The Russian minority situation is immensely more diverse, and has closer resemblance to that of the "multi-national economic region" of eastern Europe. Professor Janowsky finds that the racial and nationality conflicts which characterized the Czarist regime in Russia have disappeared, and differences have been reconciled through the establishment of the Soviet "multi-national state." There is no sharp differentiation of function such as would be implied by the term federalism, the central government may veto measures taken by the national republics, and minorities are

not free to depart from the communist ideology. The Council of Nationalities has never voted differently from the Council of the Union, or second house of the bicameral Supreme Council. At the same time, according to Professor Janowsky, there has been attitude for local self-government by native populations, widespread propaganda to promote mutual self-respect, and stern suppression of racial discrimination. Freedom of minorities has been exercised culturally and through the use of the vernacular so that by 1935 elementary schools were conducted in 80 different vernacular languages, of which Russian was one. Aid from the advanced areas has developed the more backward, and greatly reduced the economic discrepancies among nationalities.

While recognizing these important developments in the solution of the Soviet minority problem, Professor Janowsky shows no particular enthusiasm for the political framework within which they have been achieved. He speaks of the "disabilities incident to dictatorship" and the "steel ring of the Communist Party", although he comes to the conclusion that "it is difficult to believe that repression and propaganda could alone produce the broad base of contentment which seems to prevail."

The empirical approach used by Professor Janowsky leads to a principle called "national federalism" for application to eastern and central Europe. It combines features from the examples studied in the book. The synthesis is a regional confederation for economic purposes, with the state-members of the confederation organized into multi-national units. For example, Yugoslavia would be one member of a regional confederation in the Balkans, and its own constituent national territories, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and others, would have full equality, cultural autonomy, and local self-government within Yugoslavia. It is difficult to see how these proposals, amounting to a new constitutional design for areas of nationality conflict, can be discussed in a meaningful way without reference to the political and eco-

nomic aspects of the minority problems. The demonstration that, under given conditions, national minorities are not in conflict, does not dispose of the hard political and economic facts of eastern and south central Europe. Like the Bombay Plan for the economic development of India, Professor Janowsky's plan may be considered a blue-print for the future, but it provides no hint of an answer to the question: Who is going to do it?

DAVID R. JENKINS.

U. S. Treasury Department.

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*Freedom Under Planning.* By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 180. \$2.00.

This book was written by an English-woman and printed in 1944 when restrictions to initiative and individual behavior in Britain were at an all time high. Although not stated as such, it soon becomes obvious to the reader that the writer is trying to show that the imitation of wartime restrictions does not necessarily mean the destruction of the basic freedoms discussed in the book, namely, civil, cultural, political, and economic. It is also obvious that the author is trying to refute the ideas advanced by other writers that planning and control will lead to serfdom.

Freedom is defined very broadly as "ability to do what you want" (page 4), or "... to do what I want and not what any body else wants me to want," (page 5). Defined elsewhere it is described as "the conscious and deliberate choice of economic priorities by some public authority."

The defense of the whole case presented by the writer is based upon the assumption that, "by conscious collective decision of economic priorities our frustrations are diminished and our freedoms enlarged: that we have more opportunity to do what we want to do. This in turn implies (1) that objectives exist which can properly be described as 'for the benefit of all,' (2) that these objectives can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy, and (3) that the men

and women on whom lies the duty of making decisions 'for the benefit of all on behalf of all' will in fact continuously pursue these objectives."

A second assumption which the writer makes is that individual plans, regardless of intention, do not always result in an intelligently integrated program. Hence, the necessity of some centralized body which has the power to coordinate.

The general conclusion reached by the author after presenting each of the topics is that the planned economy by governmental authorities need not necessarily mean the elimination of freedom to individuals. The author realizes that in any society many persons will spend much energy resisting the efforts of any central governmental body which attempts to restrict individual behavior.

The problems are discussed in terms of traditional English procedure and find comparison in wartime restrictions or by contrast to how Russia speaks, thinks, and acts in similar circumstances.

This tendency to interpret Communist Russia seems to the reviewer to be a chief weakness of the book. It is very obvious that the writer is not in sympathy with Russia, that she harbors fears based upon what happened long ago, and has limited understanding or appreciation of Russian motives or values.

Throughout the book the writer presents a number of significant principles in relation to topics that are considered. For example, in Chapter II, page 26, the author, after discussing the role and techniques of voluntary societies in contrast to compulsory societies, suggests that "voluntary societies can and should commit themselves to specific cultural ends: compulsory societies should not." This principle illustrates in the mind of the author a safety valve which would do two things, first, provide opportunities for divergent groups to continually develop and present new standards and, second, avoid compulsion and restriction that may come if questionable virtues are promoted by organizations that have the power to coerce. One of the obvious

limitations of the book is the failure of the author to realize that much of the stability of the society of which she is a part is based upon the ability of the government to enforce uniform behavior in honesty, traffic, morality, and many other culture patterns.

R. W. ROSKELLEY.

State College of Washington.

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*Adolescence and Youth.* By Paul H. Landis.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiii + 470. \$3.75.

This is one of the best books which has been published in the youth field. Many youth publications have attempted to isolate particular items, such as employment, recreation, and other problems, for analysis. This study presents a theoretical frame of reference of physical and social maturation within which youth problems develop, followed by a description of particular problem situations. An excellent use has been made of student autobiographies.

The following chapter titles of Part I—Biology, Social Structure, and Personality—indicate the realistic way in which biological and social development have been well blended with personality formation: Period, Problem and Approach; Physical Fact and Social Meaning; Forces in the Social Structure Creating the Adolescent-youth Problem; Personality—Its Organic Foundations and Social Roots; Experience World and Personality Formation; and Personality Stress in Adolescent-youth Social Relations. The author stresses that adolescent problems are the results of cultural determination upon biological development.

In Part II, Attaining Moral Maturity, it is shown that the child is immune to many restrictions placed on adults, while adolescents and youth are harnessed with these restrictions and obligations. The problem is that the youth of today has faced more moral alternatives by the time he is twenty years of age than his grandparents faced in a lifetime. Yet with all of this added social complexity, no plan has been developed whereby society systematically assists

young people in their development and adjustment problems.

Part III, The Transition to Marital Adulthood, is introduced with this statement, "In a society in many parts of which one in three or four adolescents and youth are from homes broken by divorce or death and where many more are psychologically disorganized by conflict and dissension, adolescents are ill prepared for the momentous decisions our society forces upon them in the sphere of moral-sexual choices, mate selection, and marriage."

There is a section on the Struggle for Economic Adulthood, one of the most critical youth problems in our society. In the last section, the author defines an expanding role for the school in meeting adolescent-youth problems. The final chapter outlines the need for programs to assist young people in educational, economic, and marital adjustment.

With such an excellent analysis of the problems of adolescence and youth, one might expect something more unusual in the final recommendations, but these are not a great deal different from those made in other studies. There is a definite need to get beyond outlining merely what should be done into the "how" of doing it. These questions need to be answered. Should a youth program be similar to NYA in which the political philosophy was that of the Federal Government doing something for young people? Should the role of government be merely the job of giving additional money to the States for dealing with their own youth problems? Or should State and Federal governments give specialized assistance to counties and communities to assist them in meeting the local situations? With the tremendous variation in youth problems between not only city and country, but between good farming areas and subsistence regions, or small cities and the slums of large urban centers, it seems logical that there must be a large amount of local planning.

There is urgent need for coordinating the efforts of the dozens of organizations and government agencies which are dealing

with youth. Can county and city youth councils accomplish such a difficult task? No one has the responsibility for assisting young people in meeting their adjustment problems. There still are few guidance programs. Millions of rural young people are still sadly exploited in their initial adjustments to urban living. School people are determined that there will not be another Federal youth agency like NYA, but that such programs should be administered through educational channels. Yet, are the schools ready with either viewpoint or adequately prepared personnel to take over a broad youth program?

These are the kinds of practical problems for which answers are necessary. The author of *Adolescence and Youth* has admirably outlined the problem. Now the "how" of solution is urgently needed.

CHRISTOPHER SOWER.

Extension Service,  
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

*Twentieth Century Sociology*. By Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Philosophical Library. 1945. Pp. 754. \$6.00.

It is embarrassing to have to observe that this book sets what is probably a new record of typographical error. One wonders whether even the galley sheets were ever corrected. There are few pages without mistakes, most of which are merely irritating but some of which are so serious as to falsify contexts.

This is especially tragic because the work is a competent symposium setting important benchmarks in contemporary sociology. With adequate coverage, both classical and more recent sociological theories are laid out critically. There are 25 chapters by 28 contributors. Part I examines 16 fields of sociology; Part II reviews the history and status of sociology in seven separate nations, then in Latin America and Eastern Europe. But for omission of the Orient, the book has global scope. Following each chapter there is a short biographical identi-

fication of the contributor and a brief bibliography.

For shortness of space, this review can merely suggest and not criticize the contents of such an inclusive volume. Cairns proposes a philosophy of the social sciences to match the philosophy of science. Burgess examines the case study and statistical study as the main research methods in sociology. Parsons identifies the emergence of a distinctive structural-functional theory of social systems. Becker throws in a jocular and intermittently erudite insistence upon interpretive sociology and constructive typology. Sorokin contributes a one-chapter brief of his theory of socio-cultural causality, and the next chapter abridges MacIver's book on *Social Causation*. Logan Wilson inventories sociological studies of the group. Florian Znaniecki defines social organization as a "dynamic system of human actions" discernable in groups and institutions. Woodard reviews the several unilateral social psychologies, argues for an integral, encyclopedic theory, but doesn't propose the theory.

Reviewing and rejecting previous conceptions, Gurvitch re-defines social control as a branch of sociological theory. Pound, Merton and Wach have chapters on the sociologies of law, knowledge, and religion, respectively. Jerome Hall submits a castigation of "positivist" criminology and demands the formulation of sound theory. Moore presents a condensed statement of the subject matter of economics, and develops an important (and overdue in American thought) sociological counterpart, the sociology of economic organization. Llewellyn and Hawthorn conclude the inventory of the fields of sociology by assessing the American "School of Human Ecology" as a mixture of bad and good theory, a fecund source of empirical studies, but greatly in need of "making peace with culture".

French sociology, from Comte, through Durkheim to Mauss and Halbwachs, is depicted by Levi-Strauss as currently straining to overcome the gap between its overbold theory and its too tentative empiricism.

The empirical prolificacy and scarceness of theory in American sociology is recorded by Faris (fils), who predicts "a trend away from individual system-building efforts and toward teamwork among researchers." The retarded maturation of British sociology is reported by Rumney. Salomon interprets German sociology chiefly through critiques of the Masters, -Toennies, Weber, and Simmel. Bastide says that Latin American sociology is noteworthy because "the Latin American present clarifies the European past", presenting opportunities to study and interpret a re-enactment of the phylogeny of European cultures. Italian sociology is shown by Panunzio to be "still primarily dwelling in philosophies, on long-term processes, and on society-as-a-whole speculations and deductions." Spanish sociology, according to Mendizabal, was just a-borning after World War I. In Russia, Laserson writes, "the sociological schools were mostly motivated by the political unfolding of their problems." Eileen Znaniecki and Manoil review Polish and Rumanian sociology, and Roucek describes sociology in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Some of the chapters deserve as much attention as is given here to the whole volume. The book is new grist for seminars, and every sociologist who is active in professional self-improvement will wish to read it.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.

*Central-Eastern Europe.* By Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1946. Pp. 677. \$5.00.

This book lies primarily in the field of political science and gives important background material about a predominantly rural region of which all Americans, including sociologists, are becoming increasingly conscious. Fifteen countries, stretching from the Baltic to the Aegean, comprise the crucible of political unrest. Each country is treated separately by different writers and with different results. Dr. Hans Kohn's masterly treatment of Austria-Hungary and of Russia (up to 1918) contrasts with

Kimon A. Doukas' description of Greece in which a pro-Greek, anti-Bulgarian bias is only too evident. The Greek point of view on the role of the schismatic Bulgarian church is cited without any mention being made of attempts at Hellenization by Greek clergy among the Bulgarians during the days of Turkish political domination. Dr. Roucek, who has written 12 of the 32 chapters, had done an out-standing job on Czechoslovakia, writes more sketchily yet understandingly on four Balkan countries, but is definitely unsympathetic in his treatment of Hungary (1918-1945).

One of the best summaries written to date on recent political developments in the region as a whole is contained in a survey chapter by E. C. Helmreich. The tone of the book is definitely pro-Slavic not only in the frequent attempts to explain Russian deeds which have been criticized in the West but also in the emphasis placed upon the development of Slavic "culture", especially discussed in the chapters on Poland and Russia. A greater appreciation of such accomplishments would help the Westerner understand the Slavic "definition of the situation" as he watches one crisis after another develop.

Another survey chapter on Economic Problems of Central-Eastern Europe (by Dr. Ernest Sturc) focuses upon overpopulation as the most pressing problem and suggests industrialization and diversified farming as the solution. This is in line with current economic thinking for this region where lack of capital and shortage of skilled labor results in serious malutilization of natural and human resources. Dr. Sturc, however, fails to point out that present political leaders throughout the area are less interested in reducing the population to any "optimum" than they are in the military strength inherent in growing numbers, and like leaders in other parts of the world view industrialization as a means toward military security. There is thus a clash between what one might term theoretically sound economic planning and political expediency. This has been borne out often in this area by the experience of UNRRA, an

organization which strangely enough receives no mention in this chapter.

The book, although primarily political in character, does provide the general reader with information about ethnic origins (the Lithuanians speak the purest Sanskrit extant), social development (The Church in Finland did not permit people to marry if they could not read), racial and national tensions (Pan-Slavism is put to the test) over and over again as Slavs quarrel among themselves (Russians-Poles, Serbs-Bulgari), land reforms (these are now being carried on with considerable thoroughness throughout the area), peasant uprisings (usually capitalized upon by smart city politicians to the detriment of the peasants), and class systems (presently in a state of great upheaval).

In conclusion, the chief contribution which Dr. Rousek and his associates have made is not in re-interpreting history or adding materially to the content of the social sciences; they have rather put into one book a wealth of information about a highly significant region with which any world citizen would want at least a modicum of familiarity.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

*Jobs and Markets.* By Melvin G. deChazeau, Albert G. Hart, Gardiner C. Means, Howard B. Myers, Herbert Stein, Theodore O. Yntema. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. 143. \$1.60.

This book is another in a series published under the auspices of the Committee for Economic Development. It is primarily concerned with an analysis of how to prevent inflation and depression during the transition from a wartime to peacetime economy and is written for "anyone who cares about the prospects for his job or his business and anyone who cares about what his money will buy".

A striking feature of the book is its positive attack upon the immediate problems facing the economy during the transition. Though this kind of material often is heavy

reading, this book is clearly and directly written. To most readers, little doubt will remain when the book is finished that the authors have carefully prepared a well-rounded and positive program of "general strategy for the transition".

The three main objectives of the program proposed by these authors for the transition period are: 1) "to expand rapidly to a high level of production and employment; 2) to prevent a major rise in the general level of prices and 3) to eliminate price control as soon as it ceases to be indispensable for the achievement of high employment and stable prices." The program they propose to meet these objectives is centered around continuation of a modified price control program until mid-1947 (rents longer) and the adoption and use by the government of strong and flexible fiscal and monetary policies designed to stabilize aggregate demand at a high level.

In their streamlined price control program the authors recommend an average level of profits similar to what would be earned in a period of sustained prosperity, limitations on extremely high profits, the establishment of minimum levels of profits for individual industries and a somewhat lower minimum level of profits for an individual firm in an industry. Such "sheltering" of industry they believe would lead to high employment and a high level of production. Specific recommendations are also made as to the kind of a price control program needed—one that is quick-acting and with less restrictive standards than the past program.

As to fiscal and monetary policy most emphasis is placed upon the need for a system of taxes of built-in-flexibility (mainly the individual and corporate income tax) and for a monetary system that can contract and expand the supply of money as a means of stabilizing aggregate demand. Raising of reserve requirements of commercial banks, but allowing government bonds to count as required reserves, and the supporting of the government bond market by the Federal Reserve at slightly below par are features of their proposed monetary program that would be designed

to reduce credit expansion when necessary. Congressional and administrative action would be required to make possible certain features of the above program. Attention is also called to the importance of having this program ready for action when needed which means preparation in advance of need. Another short-run adjustment considered as an influence upon demand is the use of public works projects that can be "quickly started and quickly stopped".

An important feature of the report is the attention given to who should do what and when. Taken as a whole the report furnishes a constructive program for the transition that merits much consideration.

AUBREY J. BROWN.

University of Kentucky.

*The Effect of the Central Valley Project on the Agricultural and Industrial Economy and on the Social Character of California: A Report on Problem 24, Central Valley Project Studies. Berkeley, California: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1945. Pp xxii + 241.*

"The Central Valley Project is a complex system of water works and power facilities designed to fulfill a number of purposes, chief of which are to furnish irrigation waters to areas now having none or a deficient supply, the development of hydroelectric power, the prevention of floods, the improvement of navigation, and the repulsion of saline waters. It was voted by the people of the State in 1933 but is being built for the people of California and the Nation by the Federal government under the Bureau of Reclamation."

About twelve million acres of land are now under irrigation in the Central Valley and it is estimated that the Project will increase this amount by about twenty per cent as well as furnish additional water supply to areas now being irrigated by insufficient water.

This report, prepared by a committee from

the regional office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture at Berkeley, is preliminary in character. It concludes that "The Central Valley Project will exert a strong influence upon the established agricultural economy, rural life, and industrial economy of the Valley; but it will be only an influence, not a complete change, simply because the present situation is so well established. The nature of this influence will differ, depending upon the policies followed in construction and administration of the Project."

It is the description of the "present situation" which is so firmly established in the Central Valley that will be of most interest to rural sociologists. Among the characteristics typical of the area are the following:

(1) Farming has developed into an industrialized pattern which requires a large labor supply and high capital investments. This makes for "farming as a business" rather than "farming as a way of life."

(2) Large-scale operations play a dominant role in the agriculture of the area.

(3) Large-scale farms are frequently operated under a tenure pattern peculiar to California wherein operators specialize in a single commodity, renting suitable lands on an annual basis and shifting to new lands as the old cease to be productive for that particular crop.

(4) The heavy demand for labor and the unseasonal distribution of this demand is one of the major problems of the area.

(5) The large size of the farms and the requiring of a disproportionately large number of hired workers result in few opportunities for the development of the family-sized farm. This in turn gives rise to communities lacking in social integration and having poor social conditions as judged by almost any generally accepted standard of measurement.

(6) Since farming in this area is "big business" it tends to result in the concentration of economic controls in the hands of a few large corporations who finance and supervise both production and marketing operations. Employer associations are high-

ly developed and in the past have made a consistent effort to prevent the organization of labor and occasionally even to hinder programs for its welfare.

The report is not likely to be very heartily endorsed by the Associated Farmers, but it should prove especially useful to teachers of courses in regional sociology.

NATHAN L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

*Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography.* Bulletin 54. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. xi + 177. \$1.75.

This monograph (Bulletin 54 of the Social Science Research Council) is the result of the labors of a distinguished group of historians in "... preparing a manual designed to clarify thought about history and to aid historians in teaching and writing it." (P. vii). Contributors include Charles A. Beard, John Herman Randall, Jr., George Haines IV, Howard K. Beale, Sidney Hook, Merle Curti, Louis Gottschalk, Ronald Thompson, and others. The Committee grappled with many fundamental problems, and their conclusions and suggestions will be long worth intensive study by historians and other social scientists.

The manual exemplifies the increasing emphasis in American social sciences upon greater methodological and philosophical clarity in research operations. The first five chapters deal with: grounds for a reconsideration of historiography; major influences affecting the study and writing of history in America during the past 75 years; the problem of "causality" as illustrated in historical treatment of the Civil War; the problems of definition and terminology in historical study; and basic propositions submitted as a guide to historical method. The last chapter consists of a selective reading list on historiography and philosophy of history.

The Committee has succeeded in posing sharply a number of highly significant questions; like most "symposia," however,

the manual is less successful in providing consistent pro tem resolutions of the problems. If misery loves company, rural sociologists may be "comforted," although perhaps not "encouraged," by the obvious struggles of our colleagues in history to deal with such problems as "bias," the nature of scientific abstraction, the imputation of causes, and criteria for the selection of facts. (For example, in a dissenting footnote Charles Beard and Alfred Vagts hold that the terms "cause" and "causality" should never be used in written history).

This reviewer finds it impossible to accept a number of the Committee's formulations: e.g., the assertion that social data are more "complex" and changing than physical data. (Pp. 138-139.) Complexity is in large part a matter of the kind of scientific abstraction employed, and is not inherent in the "substantive" nature of the respective phenomena. At the same time nothing but praise is appropriate for such points as the Committee's forthright emphasis on the inevitability of selection among facts and the need for making value premises explicit. Sidney Hook's treatment of causation is a model of clear and concise reasoning.

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.  
Cornell University.

*Nowhere Was Somewhere.* By Arthur E. Morgan. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. 234. \$2.50.

Writing utopias is a favorite pastime of bored men of opulence and social misfits. Writing term themes and innocuous books about them is an excellent punishment for graduate students and a let-down for men retiring from more exacting activities. *Nowhere Was Somewhere* falls into the latter category. Past presidents of colleges and ex-directors of T.V.A.'s would likely find chewing on More's *Utopia*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Prescott's *The Conquest of Peru*, and many others, but by no means all the important, utopias a fascinating experience. Little does it matter that exegetic out-

bursts of this kind as well as the utopias themselves are plentiful. Such authors cannot escape the illusion that only they of all men are passing familiar with them.

This book speculates about the significance of utopia, the model for utopia, the characteristics of utopias, why they fail, and other questions including their sources. It has an appendix on early voyages to South America, generous annotations, and an index. It relates the formation of constitutions to utopias, and makes an object lesson of the Inca civilization. The origins of utopias are somehow the visions of old men, the romances of classic Greek poets, and the inspirations of oriental messiahs. The failure of utopias is ascribed to the enormous time necessary for their realization, an over exaggeration of their virtues and a neglect of their faults, their dilutions with ordinary human perversities, and their neglect of the education necessary to harmonize the mind with utopian aims. The hypothetical nonsense upon which utopias are built provokes little reflection other than a rather esoteric allegation of the immutability of human nature.

If a book like this has any potential use other than as a source of confusion for women's study clubs and as a form of vicarious amusement for men with hardened arteries, it is not apparent. Its delightful style and plausible erudition should assure it that use.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and  
Mechanical College.

*Industrial Relations and the Social Order.*

By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. xii + 555. \$4.00.

This book is largely the product of the author's experience in teaching a course in "Industrial Sociology." He states that "the organization of the book reflects the two major aspects of the social characteristics of industry, namely, the industrial plant as a complex social organization, and the relationship of industry to society."

Sections on "Management," "Labor" and "Industrial Relations" treat the social relations and problems within industry. The two other major sections of the book focus attention on the relationship between industry and society. The four principal relationships of this type are described as (1) "the social life of the industrial personnel," (2) "industry and culture," (3) "industry and the community," and (4) "political and legal controls of industrial activity."

The discussion of industrial management includes such topics as patterns of industrial organization, "the growth of professional management," "the functions of executives, supervisors and specialists," and "social and technical efficiency." Other subjects which stand out as especially well developed from a social and psychological standpoint are "the worker and the machine," "the informal organization of workers" and "industrial conflict." The discussion of the interaction between industry and the rest of society, however, appears to be less of a contribution than the subject matter just enumerated. The chapter on "Social Classes and the Industrial Order," is hardly more than a condensation of the material that one would expect to find on Social Class in an Introductory Sociology text.

In chapters on "Capitalism, Science and Technology" and "Individualism and the Division of Labor," the author points out how modern industrialism partakes of and in turn influences the rest of the culture. The book is concluded by a suggestive chapter on "Prospects and Problems of Economic Planning."

Even though industrialism is not as yet a dominant characteristic of rural society, this publication may be of definite interest to those rural sociologists who are concerned with "applied sociology." For here is a forthright attempt to make sociological concepts and principles useful for those working in a given field.

Good scholarship is exhibited by the explicit definition of basic concepts, the extensive and relevant bibliography at the end of each chapter, the suggestive footnotes and economy in the use of words. The pub-

lishers might have improved the readability of the book by printing the subtitles in black-face type so they would have stood out rather than allowing them to blend in with the typography of the page.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

University of Kentucky.

*Democratic Human Relations.* By Hilda Taba and William Van Til. Washington, D. C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1945. Pp. 366. \$2.00 (paperbound), \$2.30 (clothbound).

Few educators or students of national and international problems question the necessity of inter-cultural education. A small handful have recognized intergroup and intercultural education as a "field" deserving special consideration and as requiring specially trained personnel. Perhaps the greatest contribution of *Democratic Human Relations* is the fact that its assembled evidence convinces one that this is a problem which will never be solved by present casual unorganized methods.

The volume has gained as well as lost by its multiple authorship. Experts have illuminated sections with their individual points of view as in the section on "Some Basic Concepts in the Education of Ethnic and Lower-Class Groups" by Allison Davis. On the other hand the repeated recording of outlines in the first few chapters contributes little to the value of the study. In a Yearbook such a survey of existing devices for intercultural education is entirely justified. But since this volume goes far beyond that stated function by giving occasional brilliant insights and bits of inspiration, one wishes there had been more illustration and less mere survey.

The discussion on the relative values of the "pervasive emphasis throughout the usual program" and the unit study approach should shock the complacency of thousands of well-intentioned teachers and leaders.

The meagerness of data on "community utilization" also presents a challenge. "It is paradoxical that an approach which again and again is recommended by specialists in

building good human relations is neglected." (p. 226) Likewise, the need for evaluation is reiterated as is the necessity for clear formulation of goals rather than generalized good intentions. Some good suggestions for spelling out aims are included.

The section on "Materials and Sources" is a "must" for all leaders of intergroup activities and for all social science teachers interested in intercultural problems—and what social science teacher is not?

The emphases throughout are the total growth and development of the individual and the integration of the individual into democratic society.

BELLE BOONE BEARD.

Vanderbilt University.

*The Bill of Social Rights.* By Georges Gurvitch. New York: International Universities Press, 1946. Pp. 152. \$2.00.

"To supplement the political Bill of Rights with a social Bill of Rights means to proclaim the rights of workers, of consumers, and of common men as groups and as individuals to take part effectively in all aspects of life and of advancing civilization, in creative work, in security, in well-being, in education and culture, as well as to participate actively in all possible manifestations of jural autonomy, of democratic supervision and control by those concerned, of self-government and judicial procedure."

Thus the author states at the end of his introductory chapters his ideas which represent the fruit of fifteen years of research. Clearly we cannot in a few words pass judgment on the value of his actual proposal.

We can, however, stress his concept of pluralism; not a system of checks and balances within the political organization of a democracy, but rather the interpenetration of this political system with economic self-government of citizen groups. Professor Gurvitch distinguishes three aspects of social pluralism: (1) the fact that nothing in the social microcosm is an independent and

singly working entity; (2) *the ideal* that synthesizes liberty and equality on the basis of fraternity; (3) *the technique* by which groups succeed in economic representation. Such techniques want to plan economy on the basis of self-government of workers and consumers, and use several methods of which "education through law" is one of the most important.

The author mentions antecedents of such a Bill of Rights, points at utility and obstacles and—like a good lawyer—prepares the ground for his *plaidoyer*. He does all of this eloquently, with thorough scholarship, clearly and logically.

The draft of a Bill of Social Rights forms the second and main part, followed by an explanatory report on motives. It may be noted that while the author labors on Marxian premises, he very carefully stresses individual property; asks for a double remuneration for the worker, salary and "labor shares" in the worker's name and non-transferable. (Art. XIII) He distinguishes clearly between individual and collective property, the latter again subdivided into social and public property. Dr. Gurvitch then points to the right to work and labor, to rest and retirement, to education, to free migration, and many others.

The author visualizes an industrialized nation rather than an agricultural community; thus, rural sociologists will find little pertaining to their field of specialization. It is, however, obvious that all groups within a given society are subject to the authors pluralistic theory which to this reviewer seems to have considerable practical value.

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

*The Contributions of Extension Methods and Techniques Toward the Rehabilitation of War-Torn Countries.* By United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Washington, D. C., 1945. Pp. 239.

This is a report of a conference held at Washington, D. C., September 19-22, 1944,

to develop information necessary to answer questions pertaining to contributions that extension education can make to the rehabilitation and agricultural development of the war-torn countries of the world. Its objectives were announced as informal, unofficial, and non-political. It was not an international conference, nor did any of those who took part in it officially represent any agency or government. The report includes committee reports, a few selected addresses, and briefer consultants' statements.

The conference itself was organized around nine major areas; the Balkans, Southwestern Europe, the Middle East, Western Europe, Central Europe, the Northern Countries, India, Eastern Asia, and Southeastern Asia. A report is given for each of these regions, concerned, in the main, with the following: (1) a brief description of each region and the significant points in its culture; (2) description and evaluation of the extension history and experiences of each country; and (3) the development and interpretation of the guiding principles of extension education applicable to each country. There is also a brief committee report of extension by private agencies.

Anyone reading this report will be impressed with its timeliness, but also with the difficulty of the task undertaken for, as is repeatedly emphasized, extension must be geared to the culture of the people it would serve if it is to have any measurable degree of acceptance.

This report is a resource book, and not a statement for continuous reading. The different reports show varying degrees of analysis and interpretation. The reviewer was particularly impressed with the reports on the Northern countries of Europe and on Eastern Asia because it seems they had really gotten to the "grass roots." However, all of the reports are revealing and encouraging.

Although one cannot escape the feeling that this report could have been improved by more thorough editing, it has been brought together somewhat as a unit in

the summary. Here we are reminded that extension is a "grass roots" movement; that it must be developed "in harmony with the culture of the people" it would reach, but that similarities are to be seen even among varying cultures; that extension must deal with conditions and needs as they exist; that programs should be worked out with groups of local farmers and homemakers—not for them; that these programs must be concerned with serving the farm, the home, and the community as a whole; and that they must be flexible. Caution is also given as to the type of person who should be selected to do extension work.

One of the heartening things about this report to rural sociologists should be the prominent way in which rural sociologists have shared in it—as conference chairmen, as conference summarizer, as key speakers and as consultants, as members of all of the committees and chairmen of two of them. Rural Sociology in the United States has expanded its vision world-wide. It must be careful to do this, however, without neglecting the "grass roots" approach here at home.

A. F. WILEDEN.

University of Wisconsin.

*The Feilding Community Centre.* By A. E. Campbell. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1945. Pp. 79. Four Shillings and Sixpence.

Some six years ago *Rural Sociology* carried a brief review of H. C. D. Somerset's *Littledene*, the first survey of a village centered agricultural community to come from New Zealand. It has proven to be the Council for Educational Research's best seller over the years. Even before its publication, Mr. and Mrs. Somerset had taken charge of the Community Centre of the Feilding Agricultural School, following a year of study and observation in the United States.

The Centre grew in part out of this trip, though the School and its headmaster had long been community-centered as to program. It was felt that the time had come for a "bold experiment" in community or-

ganization, majoring in adult education and recreation. The experiment has been conducted successfully for nearly eight years. Last year it was studied intensively by Mr. Campbell, the director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

The program has included classes in child study, nutrition, health, home decoration, marriage planning, music, art, psychology, English language and literature, foreign languages, and practical arts. There have also been a public affairs forum, a drama club, a family film club and numerous recreational and war activities, together with much assistance to teachers, farmers and many others. Close relations have been maintained with the schools, library, churches, trade unions and other institutions.

These things Mr. Campbell describes and evaluates in something over half of this small, but useful, book.

The community organization movement has aroused much interest in New Zealand in the last years. Some pamphlets and leaflets from the United States have been well circulated. Mr. Campbell, after a chapter of suggestions, concludes that the experiment has succeeded, that it should be emulated elsewhere, but that not until this happens should an effort be made to develop such centers throughout all New Zealand.

EDWARD DES. BRUNNER.

Columbia University.

*Intellectual Trends in Latin America.* Papers Read at a Conference on Intellectual Trends in Latin America, Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1945. Pp. 148.

This book, consisting of a collection of twelve papers concerning Latin America, will prove useful to those persons who are looking for and realizing the importance of an understanding of our Latin American neighbors. For interest and sheer readability I especially recommend Enrico Veris-

simo's paper, "Contemporary Trends in Brazilian Literature."

From the maze of facts presented, both historical and contemporary, several points stand out clearly:

(1) Pervading contemporary outgrowth of Latin American intellectual life is the spirit of nationalism, both a cause and a result of the 20th century revolutionary period, after which time Latin America's feeling of inferiority and tendency toward eclecticism began to be overshadowed by a dawning self-consciousness and a realization of her own potentialities.

(2) Latin America lags far behind North America in sciences and the scientific approach. Much of this is due to the mental make-up of the Latin American individual who, although gregarious, is so much of an individualist that "he resents the discipline of the group." Latin Americans approach even government and politics from the standpoint of artistry rather than of science, seeing no clear line "between scholarly investigation and political criticism." This lack of the scientific approach to life is shown in a "strongly negative reaction to positivism."

(3) Feeling more at ease in the field of imagination than of reason, Latin America has progressed farthest in those forms of expression which place "more accent upon imagery than upon realism."

(4) Aided by her new, self-conscious attitude, Latin America is now making good progress toward understanding and taking care of her own needs.

JOHN R. BERTRAND.

Sam Houston State Teachers' College.

*Tomorrow's Trade.* By Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. Pp. x + 156. \$1.00.

In this treatise the author gives historical and logical reasons for the rise and fall of free-trade and the gold standard periods of world commerce, and introduces the managed currency era. He shows that in international trade the elemental equation is: Stuff for Stuff.

United States played Santa Claus following World War I to the amount of 24 billion dollars, counting the excess export goods made from our resources by our toil, over the value of imports including services in return. This also brought much ill-will from other nations in the cancellation of bad debts, defaulted bonds and reparations.

Mr. Chase shows how maladjustments in world commerce may lead to exploitation of natural resources and the impoverishment of the people of a nation. His summarizing formula is:

"The stuff we produce, as a nation,  
Plus the stuff we import,  
Less the stuff we export,  
Is a measure of our standard of  
living."

With the defeat of Japan the Big Three nations have a virtual monopoly of military power, and all have vast natural resources. None will be bothered with an inferiority complex or those Have-not blues which caused Hitler to consume so many rugs. None has had to drop bombs on another in the course of liberation. Thus no near World War III is contemplated.

It is shown that at Dumbarton Oaks the Big Three drafted a new League of Nations, known as United Nations, which would, among other things, give formal representation to the rest of the world where small powers could air grievances for peaceful solution. The Big Three constitute the political core of the post-war world. They will determine the shape of tomorrow's trade.

For better foreign commerce the author recommends:

*First*—Apply the compensatory device to maintain full employment at home.

*Second*—Figure out what we need and want from abroad and arrange to get it without having it scale high tariff walls.

*Third*—Use exports to balance imports on a stuff-to-stuff basis, and to build up the economic strength and the standard of living of friendly nations.

*Fourth*—Adopt the Bretton Woods proposals for better currency and banking, and

also international agencies as they are needed.

*Fifth*.—In the words of David Cushman Coyle, "throw whatever cold water is handy on the efforts of either government or business to push American goods and services abroad without providing for corresponding imports." Let us have no permanent Santa Claus program.

WARREN O'HARA.

Indiana Farm Bureau Educational Department.

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*American Foundations for Social Welfare.*

By Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. Pp. 249. \$2.00.

This is the latest edition of the directory of American foundations which the Russell Sage Foundation has published for a number of years. After a careful check of their voluminous files and those of other agencies 505 bona fide "foundations for social welfare" were discovered. The descriptive directory gives the addresses, and where information was supplied, a brief note on the purposes of the organization and the amount of funds they administer.

In this edition of the directory approximately 100 pages are given to a discussion of the "foundation idea" and to some of the problems which arise in carrying out the "idea." Foundations are discussed by type, method of organization, and fields of activity. Some observations on the financial problems common to foundations are made. "Trends and possible developments" of American foundations are briefly mentioned.

The discussions are urbane. The authors are clearly aware that foundations are not immune to the common evils of the community. The fact is foundations have been apt at creating their own specialized abuses, while enjoying many of the every-day vagaries. It is apparently not easy to get information on the activities of some foundations. Of the 505 listed, 49 declined to give information and 92 did not reply to the repeated requests for information. That no information could be obtained from al-

most 30 per cent of the organizations is an interesting commentary on American foundations for social welfare. All too many have aspects of family trust funds managed from the office of the family lawyer, while enjoying special privileges as public-welfare organizations. This charge applies particularly to the smaller foundations. Many of the larger foundations are anxious that the public know about their programs.

The authors have performed a useful task. Students and researchers will find many uses for this directory and the comments serve as an informative introduction.

ROBERT W. HARRISON.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

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*The Process of Persuasion.* By Clyde R. Miller. New York: Crown Publishers. 1946. Pp. 234. \$2.00.

Dr. Miller, probably best known as the founder of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, has written in popular style a very persuasive little book on persuasion. Evidently his objective, which nowhere becomes quite explicit, is to render his readers sensitive to all the current modes of conscious social control. By alerting their "critical faculty," and conditioning them to a characteristic reliance on their own creative thinking, he would free them from involuntary bondage to the subtle techniques of "evil" and selfish persuasion.

The first half of the book is a survey of "human behavior, conditioning and language as backgrounds of persuasion." The remainder deals with four basic persuasion devices: those causing acceptance—"virtue" devices; those causing rejection—"poison" devices; those employing testimonials to cause acceptance or rejection; and those reinforcing all the other devices by exploiting the common human desire to be identified with groups.

In terms of the author's objective he has done an admirable job. Painlessly he introduces the unscholarly reader to a wide range of literature bearing on persuasion: William Graham Sumner, Thorstein Veblen, William James, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln

Steffens, Stuart Chase, Hadley Cantril, Dale Carnegie, and others.

Miller himself is no amateur at the art of persuading—drawing on the daily press and popular magazines, invoking names, symbols, even religious authority, and dramatizing by vivid figures. But he is perhaps overly optimistic when he concludes (p. 231): "It seems likely that if we can get ten per cent of the people to use their critical faculty and make their judgments in terms of humane goals, they'll influence enough of the balance to abort the persuasions that bring about panics and mass phobias."

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Problems of the Countryside.* By C. S. Orwin. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. 111. \$1.25.

This little book, Number 26 in the Current Problems series edited by Sir Ernest Barker, describes the low ebb to which agriculture and village life have fallen in England and points to two major remedies. Many people will like one or the other of them, but few will like both.

English farmers, he contends, have not made satisfactory progress since the agricultural depression of the 1880's. The countryman has become dependent upon government aid, and agricultural villages in contrast to the towns do not furnish the necessary services for good living. Young people leave the countryside to work in town or city. Organization for war production brought many changes but no revolution either in agriculture or village life. Two thorough-going revolutions are necessary to remedy the situation:

1. Farms should be reorganized with 600 acres as a minimum, planned and rebuilt for modern agricultural technology and modern scientifically educated management to furnish a modern living.

2. Village life must be revolutionized along the lines of the rurban community

with village-centered industries. Only by enlargement and reconstitution of the village community can its people be adequately served and have the fuller social life they need. Here the author brushes aside without serious consideration the active participation of farmers in the life of the town which is probably the most adequate remedy from the longtime economic point of view.

How these revolutions are to be brought about is not clear. There is no demand for thoroughgoing reform within the industry, and villagers generally are apathetic. Obviously, this book was written to influence the government planners rather than the farmers. However, it must be pointed out that democratic revolutions do not occur without the interest and combined effort of the people concerned.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

*Social Research On Health.* By Otis Durant Duncan and Others. New York: Social Science Research Council. 1946. Pp. 212. \$1.00.

*Social Research On Health* is a report of the work group, of which O. D. Duncan was chairman, on research in the social aspects of health. The study was sponsored by the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council.

Six fields of interest in health research are recognized and these are developed in some detail: general, economic, historical, political science, psychological, and sociological. In fact, Chapter III consists of a series of topical outlines in the six fields around which specific research projects can be developed. Those who make use of the memorandum may find Chapter IV the most valuable part of the whole report. It presents a number of project statements for each of the six categories.

Chapter V, "Methods of the Social Sciences With Special Reference to Health Research" will be read with mixed emotions. The section, was perhaps, necessary in order to carry out the plan as outlined

in the first chapter. On the other hand, it left this reviewer with a feeling that this was entirely too much of the "six easy lessons" approach. For example, "The Nature of Science" is disposed of in about one and one-half pages and "The Field Survey Method" is cared for in the space of a half-page, as is the "Historical Method." Two and one-half pages are given to a treatment of the "Statistical Method."

Chapter VI consists of 44 pages of bibliographical materials. This section will not be as useful as it might otherwise have been because of one very fundamental weakness, namely, the omission of the date of publication for many of the references. Very few research workers will be able to match volume number and year for most of the Journals and other publications cited.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

*Outline of Family and Civilization.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. 18. \$6.55.

This outline gives the basic hypotheses of the author on the relationship between historical family systems and types of social life and suggests readings for certain types of family systems of Western societies. The author holds that historically there have been three types of families: trustee, domestic, and atomistic. He believes that the first two of these have resulted in social control while the latter has stimulated social disorganization. In the trustee family the power of kin and household, husband-wife relationships, and control of children by parents is very strong. In the domestic type the power of kin and household diminishes but husband-wife and parent-child controls remain very strong. In the atomistic family the control by the family is very weak and individualism is very strong. The author believes that the type of family at any given time determines the kind of civilization of the period. He has the theory that the "re-appearance in the modern social systems of unexplained brutality on a wholesale

scale . . . probably is due to break-up of the familialistic system." Consequently, re-organization of modern societies depends on reinstituting the domestic type of family which "makes the high degree of civilization possible." The outline will have little utility for courses based on research findings of current family behavior.

H. J. LOCKE.

University of Southern California.

*Georgia Facts in Figures.* By Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1946. Pp. xviii + 179. \$2.00.

On the cover it is stated that this is "A Source Book." The presentation of 226 detailed exhibits is made more comprehensive by the column in each table showing Georgia's percentage of the corresponding United States total. Such a compilation of approximately 50,000 Georgia items is a tribute to the more than eight years of unselfish cooperation of civic, educational, commercial, social and religious organizations representing the Fact-Finding Movement. To show what the book tells would be to quote the titles of the 226 exhibits. Suffice it to say that the contents cover: Natural, human and man-made resources; agriculture, industry and commerce; health, education and public welfare; government, politics, public finance and religious groupings.

The statistics are made more readable and more interesting by frequent use of charts, maps and drawings. It is further improved by a very complete alphabetical index of over 2,000 subjects.

For any person, organization or institution wishing to have access to facts about Georgia, this is a very valuable source. The very details, down to county units, of how many births and deaths; causes of deaths by age groups; the number of popular votes received by political aspirants; numbers affiliated with each religious sect; climatic details; income and indebtedness, etc. are clearly set out for the reader to find quickly.

An additional striking feature of this

Georgian Encyclopedia of facts is the note to the reader by the Administrator. It tells of the organization of the "Movement" and many of its joys and trials. It is surely a benevolent piece of work.

ROY E. PROCTOR.

University of Georgia.

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*Rural Hunterdon.* By Hubert G. Schmidt. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1946. Pp. 331. \$8.50.

This is an agricultural history of a predominantly rural county in New Jersey. The research for this history was begun in 1938 when the author became the recipient of a two-year fellowship established at Rutgers University by the Hunterdon County Board of Agriculture. Manuscripts, diaries, account books, local census schedules, minute books and records of organizations, official county records, and local newspapers are the chief sources upon which the book is based. Much of this material had been gathered together and preserved by the Hunterdon County Historical Society.

After presenting a general picture of the county, the author deals with the movement of people into and out of the county. Next, he traces the story of land ownership and use; buildings, equipment, and methods; crops; animal husbandry; transportation; communication; trade; industry; and labor. In the last two chapters of the book the author deals with the level of living, some of the more recent changes in the agriculture of the county, and the forces which are bringing these changes about.

The writer has done an excellent piece of historical research. However, a few technical errors occur. For example, the author (p. 265) refers to the level of living as the standard of living. More studies of this kind are needed for they throw light upon the present problems of the agricultural county, and furnish a necessary basis for the study of the social and institutional development of the county.

GERARD SCHULTZ.

University of Missouri.

*Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Selected Papers, Seventy-Second Annual Meeting.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. x + 407. \$5.00.

This volume, consisting of selected papers prepared to be presented at the National Conference of Social Work, is an example of the adaptability of a professional group when the exigencies of war prevent its regular meeting. The selection of papers indicates careful thought and attention to the varied interests of the different groups of social workers represented in the National Organization.

The beginning paper, "A Year of Decision for Social Work," by Dr. Ellen C. Potter, sets forth in concise terms some major problems facing social workers today. It is followed by six papers dealing with national and world issues facing us. After this introductory section, there follow seven groups composed of from three to five papers each, dealing with selected fields of social work.

While this is not the type of book that will appeal to the general reader, it is a valuable work for the professional social worker and the serious student of social affairs. Except for the personal contacts, which are of great value, this volume offers a good substitute for the annual meeting which it represents.

WAYNE T. GRAY.  
DePauw University.

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#### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

*From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* By H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. \$5.00.

*Production Credit for Southern Cotton Growers.* By A. E. Nielsen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 198. \$2.50.

*The Roots of American Loyalty.* By Merle Curti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 267. \$8.00.

*Warriors Without Weapons.* By Gordon MacGregor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. 228. \$3.75.

*A Negro's Faith in America.* By Spencer Logan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. vi + 88. \$1.75.

*Secondary Education in the South.* Edited by W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn and Arnold K. King. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 267. \$3.00.

*Beyond Supply and Demand.* By John S. Gambs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. 105. \$1.60.

*The South Carolina Rice Plantation.* By J. H. Easterby. Chicago: University o.

Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xxi + 478.  
\$5.00.

*The Peoples of the Soviet Union.* By Corliss Lamont. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. Pp. viii + 229.  
\$3.00.

*USDA, Manager of American Agriculture.* By Ferdie Deering. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. Pp. xvi + 213. \$2.50.

*The Rural South: A Reading Guide for Community Leaders.* Edited by H. C. Brearley and Marian Tippit. Nashville, Tennessee: The Southern Rural Life Council, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1946. Pp. v + 86. \$.75.

**LETTER OF APPRECIATION**

To: The Editors of RURAL SOCIOLOGY  
From: Mrs. Dwight Sanderson,  
107 Cayuga Heights,  
Ithaca, New York

I wish to express to you and your associates my deep appreciation of the fine tribute to my husband as expressed in the memorial number of RURAL SOCIOLOGY. I am very much pleased with the memorial number. It was well done but not overdone. I think Dwight would be pleased. He never sought acclaim for his work, but I think he would have a great sense of satisfaction in knowing what his associates think of his work and in what affection and esteem they hold him. I thank you for him.

With highest regards, I am  
Gratefully yours,  
(sgd) CECELIA SANDERSON.

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**ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECEMBER  
MEETING**

Plans are in progress for a meeting of the Rural Sociological Society to be allied with The American Sociological Society meeting at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, December 28-29-30, 1946.

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Louisiana State University. Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago will serve as Visiting Professor of Sociology here during the spring semester (February 3-May 31), 1947. This will bring to a close the program of inviting visiting professors of sociology to the campus, which was undertaken under the terms of a grant to the University from the General Education Board. The others who have participated in this program are Professor Carl M. Rosenquist of the University of Texas and Professors Lee M. Brooks and Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina.

T. Lynn Smith was in South America during the summer. Under the terms of a grant from the Division of International Exchange of Persons of the U. S. Department of State, he went first to Bogotá, Colombia to continue his activities as ad-

visor to the government of Colombia on programs of colonization and settlement. Then he proceeded to Rio de Janeiro where he served as visiting professor at the University of Brazil during July and August. His lectures in Rio de Janeiro were upon the subject of Population Analysis.

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New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Sigurd Johansen, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been granted six months leave to go to Brazil to work with the Inter-American Educational Foundation under the jurisdiction of the State Department.

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North Carolina State College. Dr. C. Horace Hamilton, who has been on leave with the Commission on Hospital Care, Chicago returned to his former position as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology on September 1st. The report of the Commission on Hospital Care will be published by the Commonwealth Fund. In the meantime a number of reprints and news letters on rural hospital problems are available to those interested.

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University of Rochester. The Department of Sociology is beginning a five-year study of the health attitudes and practices of a population as they are affected by hospitals' services. The study is being financed jointly by the University of Rochester and the Council of Rochester Region Hospitals under a grant from the Commonwealth Fund, and will be directed by Dr. Earl Lomon Koos, Chairman of the department. A panel of 500 families will be interviewed repeatedly by the research workers for the period of the study, and opinion surveys are to be conducted periodically by students in the department.

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Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Dr. Leland B. Tate, who has been on leave since last September, in charge of rural health services for the Farm Foundation, Chicago, has resumed his work here in the college and the agricultural experiment station. He and Associate Professor C. L. Folse are revising

several undergraduate courses of study and expanding the number of graduate courses available for persons seeking the Master's degree in Rural Sociology.

While with the Farm Foundation, Dr. Tate contacted rural agencies, organizations, and leaders in twenty-nine states, made particular reconnaissance study of rural health matters in the South, prepared and distributed several brief reports, participated in numerous health meetings, and helped to sponsor and direct a special Southern Rural Health Conference at the Lookout Mountain Hotel near Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 25-27. Plans are in progress for publishing the proceedings of this conference and making them available to the more than sixty conference participants and hundreds of others interested in the South's rural health situation.

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**University of Wisconsin.** The Department of Rural Sociology is in process of reconstruction following the war period. Dr. George W. Hill has returned from an extended wartime leave during which he served as Director of Program Planning, Office of Labor, War Food Administration, and later as advisor to the Venezuelan government on problems of immigration and land settlement. His monograph on immigration and land settlement in Venezuela is to be published in the near future by the Venezuelan Ministry of Agriculture.

Dr. William H. Sewell has joined the staff on a research and teaching assignment. Sewell was formerly Professor of Sociology and Rural Life at Akahoma A. & M. College and during the war served as a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R. During his period of naval service he was associated with the Research and Statistics Division of National Headquarters, Selective Service System and with the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. While with the Bombing Survey he served as a research leader in Japan and wrote the chapters of the Survey's report dealing with the influence of bombing on Japanese civilian morale.

Dr. John Useem, who was formerly Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota and more recently Associate Professor of Sociology at Barnard College of Columbia University, is expected to join the staff in September as Research Project Associate under a grant from the Rockefeller Fund. He will devote a major portion of his time to the study of Wisconsin culture. Useem served as a military government officer, (Lt.-U.S.N.R.) in the Asiatic-Pacific area and at present is making a survey of military government on Pacific Islands. He has written extensively on problems of military government and acculturation.

Martin P. Andersen, who was recently released from active duty as a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R., has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Extension Section of Rural Sociology. He will work primarily in the field of rural discussion groups.

Harald Pedersen, B.S., New Mexico State College and M.S., Louisiana State University; and LeRoy Day, B.A., University of Minnesota, B.D., Colgate College, Rochester and M.A., University of Wisconsin, have been appointed graduate research assistants in the department for the academic year 1946-47.

Dr. Douglas Marshall, who has been with the department during the past year, has accepted an Assistant Professorship in Rural Sociology, effective this fall, at the University of Minnesota.

Considerable expansion and revision of the teaching program of the rural sociology department has been made at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Dr. Kolb will continue to offer his courses in Rural Life and a graduate seminar in rural sociology. Dr. Hill will teach an advanced course in rural community and welfare agencies as well as a graduate seminar in rural sociological research. In 1947-48 he plans to give a course in ethnic groups and rural population. Dr. Sewell is offering advanced courses in principles of rural sociology, the rural family, and techniques of rural sociological research. Professor John Barton will teach an introductory course in rural

organization and leadership and an advanced course in rural standards of living, as well as courses in the Farm Short Course. Professor Wileden, in addition to his work in rural sociology extension, is giving an intermediate and graduate seminar in rural community organization with special emphasis on methods and techniques in extension. Dr. Useem will offer a seminar in comparative social systems. In addition, a seminar on rural sociology in Latin America, Europe and Asia is being planned for 1947-48, with various staff members participating. The arrangement continues whereby graduate courses offered by the general sociology department count toward a major in rural sociology, and with the expansion

of the offerings in general sociology and rural sociology, the University now offers a richer variety of graduate courses in sociology than at any time in its history.

Professors Hill, Kolb, Sewell and Wileden continue with their experiment station research in addition to their other assignments. Dr. Kolb is resurveying the Walworth County rural communities which were studied originally by Dr. C. J. Galpin in 1913. He has completed his portion of the revision Kolb and Brunner—*A Study of Rural Society*—which will be ready for fall classes. Dr. Hill is continuing his studies of Wisconsin ethnic groups; Dr. Sewell will center his research about the rural family; and, Professor Wileden is completing his restudy of special interest groups.

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# Fundamental Concepts of Sociology

(*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*)

Ferdinand Tönnies

*Translated and  
Supplemented by*

Charles P. Loomis

● This classic has played an important role in the development of Sociology. It is the masterpiece of one of the leading sociologists of our times. The original work was published in 1887; the present version is a translation of the eighth edition, which came out in 1935. The book is an account of the origins, characteristics, and development of human associations, organizations, economics, and forms of government. The discussion is founded fundamentally on human psychology. The keystones of Tönnies system are the concepts or ideal types—Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft — which are based primarily upon natural and rational will. The text of this volume is preceded by an article on the same subject written by Tönnies in 1931. 327 pages \$3.25.

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*Edited by GEORGES GURVITCH, Professor at Strasbourg University  
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# AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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CONCERNING PREJUDICE

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University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin



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# The Developing Family Crisis

By Carle C. Zimmerman†

## ABSTRACT

Many of the conclusions of this article will be found in Spanish in Carle C. Zimmerman's 'La Crisis de la Familia,' *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Vol. 7 No. 3, pages 345-360, 1945.

## RESUMEN

Muchas de las conclusiones de este artículo se hallarán en español en LA CRISIS DE LA FAMILIA, por Carle C. Zimmerman, Rev. Mex. de Soc., Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 345-360, 1945.

The modern social worker has been given the tremendous job of patching up our broken family system. The enormity of the task and its increasing seriousness is hardly appreciated by the public. This essay discusses some research in family change and the seriousness of the present family situation.

Western society, of which the United States is the most extreme present manifestation, has gone through two great family crises during its history and is about to reach the maximum development of a third. An understanding of these crises and the difficulties they present should be very helpful in contemplating the problems of the future.

The first part of this analysis is historical and descriptive. The last part is analytical and predictive. The intention is not to give a theory of world-wide, historical calamity, of the Spenglerian type, but what is described is largely peculiar only to Western society and seems so far to have been inherent in its very social

processes. Other great civilizations of which we have record have by no means had such great family crises as has the Western world.

In all the history of family society in China there has been practically only one standard of reference—one family Bible—the Confucianist system of *li* or moral behavior. In Hindu society, almost from its beginning to now, the Ramayana epic has been the Bible of the masses.

The Near-Eastern society (Persian - Babylonian - Egyptian-Semitic-Arabic) also followed along on about the same family patterns for several thousands of years as is indicated by the astonishing similarity of family law in the law-, religious-, and moral-codes which have been predominant in that region and of the interrelations between these codes.

Western society existed for fifteen hundred years with Homeric standards of behavior before the Christian Bible became the repository of its moral codes following the great tragedies in the Greek and Roman family systems. This modern past century has seen the wide-spread de-

† Harvard University.

velopment of an entirely new standard of moral reference—the tale of the primitive, from Rousseau through Spencer to W. G. Sumner. Whether this change in moral reference means a temporary setback to modern civilization or something entirely new is not yet positively known.

By the term Western society is meant the Graeco-Roman civilization from the Homeric period through the final codification of their legal system under Justinian and the modern society of Europe and its new world colonies in the Americas and Australia.

#### The Greek Family Crisis

The first of the Western family crises developed in Greek civilization following the time of Pericles and the Peloponessian Wars (430-400 BC). In the space of two centuries the family system described by Pericles in his funeral oration for the unknown soldier (429 BC) was completely broken. Pericles talked to his audience in terms of how the strong Athenian family system could withstand the shocks of the wars among the Greek nations and recreate a great culture once the difficulties were settled. He was sure that those parents who had lost sons in the wars, and who were still fairly young, would return home and have more children to replace those lost.

The actual picture of what took place in the following two centuries is recorded most concisely in the legal cases left by the Greek orators in the numerous writings of the defense of

Socrates by Xenophon, Plato, and others, and in the analysis by Polybius of the process and the causes whereby the upstart country of Rome became master of the Mediterranean. Apparent is the complete disruption of a family system analogous to what is occurring today and with similar disastrous social consequences. The orations of Demosthenes and his group in their quarrel with the collaborators with Macedonia would fit the modern period very well, and only a change of names and dates is necessary to avoid anachronism. The trial of Senator Timarchus by Aeschines and the scandalous "Against Neaera" by Demosthenes would not be entirely out of context either if reported today.

The person who brooded most over this situation probably was Plato. Much of his later writings represented an attempt to understand and to suggest a remedy for the broken family problem. The family was disrupted. A typical picture is given in the court martial trials of the younger Alciabiades who was the grandson by adoption of Pericles. Like father, like son seems to be the case, but here the pace was set by grandfather. The tragedy of the decay of Greece is mirrored in this one great family decay—from Aspasia to the two trials of Alciabiades, Jr.

The complete story of the disruption of that great civilization and its social consequences was hidden somewhat in history by the influx of peoples from below the Mediterranean to fill up some of the depleted Grecian

ranks. It was prevented from reaching a maximum of destruction by the rise of Rome to preserve the Mediterranean society of that time from anarchy. Nevertheless the picture of Greece from the period of the suicide of Aristotle until Plutarch gave his family sociology lectures in Rome about 90 AD, is not a pretty one. Judged even from our contemporary value systems and the emphasis we put upon the preservation of the benefits of civilization, it is a bleak account of great decay. Plutarch's "moral lectures" indicated that none of the values either we or the earlier Greeks considered basic to civilization were then preserved in Hellenistic society. By the time of Plutarch, virtue, chastity, fidelity, having and rearing children, and even the loyalty of brother to brother were gone in all classes of Greece. Only those who had a personal preference for family values kept to the older standards. While Plutarch indicates in his *Lives* that he knew of an earlier Greece with a familistic system, yet, as a sophist, his "*Moral*" *Lectures* were a constant depreciation, even a sneer at those old values.

Plutarch, as a personality, would feel more or less at home in the American society as it is now developing. In fact, many of our sophisticated writers of today are of the Plutarch type. They defame the old heroes of our Western society by picking out the real or alleged worst sides of their lives and presenting these as the whole picture. They constantly criticize either directly or by

implication our earlier systems of accepted moral behavior.

This breaking down of the Greek family system is extremely interesting reading. For one thing, the Greeks never attempted to hide the facts. The reason they are not better known or understood today is because the students of that culture have either not preferred to tell the real story or because they did not dare.

The Greek of the third century BC was not the parent to whom Pericles talked so seriously at the funeral of the unknown soldier. Rather was he the type of man who wanted the Navy restricted so he could have more public feasts.<sup>1</sup> He was a farmer who wanted to partake of the demoralized sensualism of the city.<sup>2</sup> He was a business man who cared more for sex than business or honor.<sup>3</sup> He was a politician whose private life was utterly scandalous.<sup>4</sup> He was an unscrupulous lawyer.<sup>5</sup> Or she was the woman who had an average of one or two children<sup>6</sup> or a Neaera.

### The Roman Family Crisis

The second great crisis of the Western family system was that in Rome in the second and third centuries of our era. Prior to that time the Roman family had recapitulated the early Greek family history, having gone through periods similar to the Homeric and Hesiodic stages. Although the leading families in Rome

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<sup>1</sup> *Lycurgus against Leocrates.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hyperides against Athenogenes.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lysias against Simon.*

<sup>4</sup> *Aeschines against Timarchus.*

<sup>5</sup> *Demosthenes against Neaera.*

<sup>6</sup> *Polybius, XXXVI, 17.*

were demoralized by the wealth which followed the development of empire and the civil wars leading up to Augustus, the common family was still fairly strong. Augustus, who was Emperor-Dictator about the time of Christ, used strong measures on the leading families and by this ruthlessness helped to preserve the "Roman tradition" among them for more than a century.<sup>7</sup> After that period, the Roman family approached a period of crisis almost identical with that of the earlier Greek family and with that facing us today. Very little is known about it by the public today because most persons stop reading Roman history after Julius Caesar and Nero. Intellectuals do not take it up again until several centuries later when the fathers of the Christian Church do most of the writing.

However, if we read the interpretations by the Roman people of themselves<sup>8</sup> we get a distinct picture of the family decay. Then also, the Romans left their own historians in writers like Dio Cassius and Ammianus Marcellinus who wrote of their own observations and those of people they knew intimately. The family decay is reflected in Roman law, in which economic aids for having children and similar nominal penalties for not preserving family obligations, instituted by the Augustinian laws, were replaced by the severest physical pun-

ishments. These became common and accepted after 400 AD. The situation described in Justinians' time by the *Secret History* of Procopius, about 535 AD, was, as he himself indicates, to be found in every center of the Empire.

It is obvious why the early Christian fathers took such a firm stand against family decay and why a man like St. Augustine in his *City of God*, and in many of his letters, apologized for the behavior of the Romans compared with the relatively moral behavior of the war-like and cruder barbarians.<sup>9</sup> The situation became so bad that those who did have sons frequently maimed them to prevent their being taken for service in the armies of the Empire.

The only difference between the Roman family decay and that of the Greeks was that the second family crisis covered a much wider area and involved more people. Its effects were kept from having early severe social consequences because it took a long time for this social anarchy to consume all the country people in the north—the "good barbarians"—who were constantly coming in and filling up the ranks of the Empire social system left vacant by the decayed family system of the Romans. By the third century this was largely accomplished, and "all Gaul" as well as most of Western Europe had progressed as far as Rome and Italy. The signs of the family crisis were exactly the same as in Greece:

<sup>7</sup> *LegesJuliae, Monumentum Ancyrum, Suetonius, Tacitus.*

<sup>8</sup> Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (Stories for his children); Athenaeus' *Diepnoosophist* (How our forefathers behaved.)

<sup>9</sup> cf. Tacitus' *Germania*; Salvian, Gov. of God.

1. Increased and rapid, easy "causeless" divorce. (Guilty and innocent party theory discarded.)

2. Decreased number of children, population decay, and increased public disrespect for parents and parenthood.

3. Elimination of the real meaning of the marriage ceremony. (*Manus* and *potestas* had no great implications.)

4. Popularity of pessimistic doctrines about the early heroes. (Cf. the picture that Gellius gives his children that Demosthenes was primarily a whoremonger.)

5. Rise of theories that companionate marriage or a permissible looser family form would solve the problem. (*Heteræ* relationships in Greece and the *Concubinatus* marriage form in the whole Roman Empire.)

6. The refusal of many other people married under the older family form to keep those traditions while others escaped their obligations. (The Greek and Roman mothers refused to stay home and bear children.)

7. The spread of anti-familism of the urbane and pseudo-intellectual classes to the very outer limits of the civilization. (Even the Egyptian peoples in contact with Roman society took up the *concubinatus*, contrary to their earlier family system.)

8. Breaking down of any inhibitions against adultery. (The adulterer now felt that his act should be looked upon as no worse than *stuprum* or at most as a *tort*.)

9. Revolts of youth against parents so that parenthood became more and more difficult for

those who did try to raise a family.

10. Rise and spread of juvenile delinquency.

11. Common acceptance of what were formerly called sex perversions. (Cf. A. Gellius on sex abnormalities.)

12. Increase of severe punitive measures for family violations by the law. These became so severe that enforcement was very difficult.

13. Development of philosophic revolts against the decay. (Plato, St. Augustine, etc.)

It is important to notice that everything so far reported took place in the period before 525 AD.

#### The Recreation of Familism

The Roman decay of the family system was a phase of a general decline in which the family breakup was part cause and part effect. When finally consummated and spread throughout the subject peoples, the immigrants and the country people of the empire, it became the "causal" or vehicular agent in the collapse of the civilization. Three or four new agents or forces, each with its own ideas as to a new kind of family, struggled for supremacy within the remnants of the Empire. One was the Christian Emperor who wanted sufficient people in his country in order to carry on the former usual social processes. Another was the type of Roman like Aurelius Augustinus, later to become St. Augustine, who were sick at heart at the awful physical, social, moral, and spiritual decay around them, and who set forth a recreated philosophy of

the domestic family, *fides*, *proles*, and *sacramentum*. A third was the great landlord or feudal lord, who came into prominence now that trade, industry, and city living were precarious pursuits. He wanted his people (*coloni*) to stay on their farms, get along together, neither marry nor divorce without his permission, and, above all, to have children so that he had a future labor supply. He wanted a surplus of children so that he could supply drafts for the armies and still keep on running his estate. Finally, there were the new barbarian groups and barbarian rulers from the North and East who did not want their people to abandon the old trustee family system and law institutionalized in the barbarian law codes. All these forces wanted a recreated family system. Their only difference was upon the kind of system to be recreated.

The struggle over this matter lasted for some centuries. At first the barbarian system won out because the rulers became more and more of barbarian origin and because the great landlords preferred the barbarian system to the Christian. Further, the great landlords held the reins over the rulers because they ran the local districts and became more and more responsible for paying taxes and furnishing men for the armies and the government. The Church also took on more barbarian influences because it found these better subjects for Christianization. The family from the sixth to the ninth centuries of our era actually became more like the Homeric system than

like anything Rome had had from the end of the Punic Wars to the third century AD.<sup>10</sup>

Later the Church system won out and the domestic family was dominant in the Western parts of Europe from the tenth century until after the Reformation. This was due to the growth in power, influence, and ingenuity of the Church and the decay of the power of the feudal lords and the rulers. The Church learned to use the feudal lords and rulers as well as the kin-clan organization in its control of the family system. Later when the states and rulers began to become more powerful, they joined forces with the Church because they were naturally opposed to the local powers and administration of justice by the clan groups and feudal rulers.

The net result of these changes, reached over some centuries of reform, is that the medieval family became again the same type of organization existing in Greece after Homer and before Pericles and in Rome at the time she first became mistress of the civilized Western world. The Church had changed the order of its three family precepts from *fides*, *proles*, and *sacramentum* to *proles*, *fides*, and *sacramentum*. Society was reinvigorated and ready to march forward again. Its leaders had forgotten most of the earlier family experience of the Greek and Roman days and no longer thought the family needed any public guidance.

<sup>10</sup> Beowulf; Germania; Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*; the Sichaire-Ausregisil feud; Lothaire II and Waldrade.

### The Gradual Development of the Third Family Crisis

The third family crisis, like the earlier ones, got under way slowly, moved imperceptibly through several centuries, and finally developed quickly toward a grand finale as in Greece and Rome. One of the outstanding earlier pronouncements of its theme was by D. Erasmus in his *Praise of Folly* in which he set forth the theory that the family needed no oversight because men were foolish enough to be virtuous, to prefer virgins, to marry and have children, and to be "good" citizens. His work is outstanding because of its clarity, its early statement of the theme which was to reach a climax in the nineteenth century and because of the duplicity with which he set forth this anti-Church philosophy and yet avoided an open break with the religious institutions which furnished his bread.

Most writers blame or praise the Protestant leaders for the philosophical steps which led to the atomism of the modern family. That is hardly fair, however. The original Protestant leaders, from Huss to Luther and Calvin to those of the eighteenth century, in reality wanted a stricter and more puritanical family than had actually existed in the Middle Ages. The founders of the modern philosophy that the individual is God to the extent of dissolving family mores were intellectual sophists and not religious leaders. No stains, such as are clearly evident in the sophist types as illustrated by D. Erasmus and J. J. Rousseau, can be found on any of the

great Reformation leaders of the Church.

Nevertheless, in the whole field of philosophy or all the thinking of a social nature, a gradual development of new ideas concerning the nature of man and his family moved from the humanist period prior to the Reformation down to the nineteenth century. These "new" ideas were essentially the same as those found in fifth and fourth-century Greece as brought out in the trial of Socrates and in his defense. Socrates was accused of destroying the Greek family system and his defense by Xenophon and Plato simply exonerated Socrates from responsibility. The same system of thought was also advanced later at the time of the decrease in power and meaning of the Roman family system.

The approaching climax of the modern family crisis was evidenced by four revolutions: two political, one peaceful of the same nature, and an international sit-down strike. The two political revolutions were the family law changes by the French government from 1791 to 1816 and by the Russians from 1917 to 1936. In these two episodes, the only two times in world history, whole national legal systems were changed overnight so that marriage, parenthood, and familism completely lost public sanction or legal meaning. In the English revolution of the Cromwellian period the whole Western world was shocked because the revolutionary government simply required marriage before a state and not a relig-

ious official. That Milton escaped beheading for advocating divorce was afterwards pointed out as "miraculous." But one hundred and forty years later in the French Revolution, as one of the speakers in the Assembly pointed out, the marriage fee simply became a tax on prostitution. Divorce was established at the will of either party without the consent or even the knowledge of the other. The same changes were brought about in Russian family law after 1917 and lasted until the counter-movement of 1936.

The peaceful revolution was achieved in the United States following 1920 under the guise of succulent phrases and legal technicalities. Two of these phrases were *feme sole* legislative conceptions and *omnibus divorce* clauses. But the fundamental changes were achieved through the development of ideas regarding split jurisdiction. Marriage and divorce no longer had to be in or according to the regulations of the actual place or residence or jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup> Thus a North Carolina couple could, according to a late Supreme Court case,<sup>12</sup> drive to Nevada, live together six weeks in a tourist camp, divorce their respective spouses, marry each other, and return to North Carolina to live as a respectable married couple. While this particular pair was finally penalized after two decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court, millions of others have done and are continuing to do the same thing without penalty, as the minority

report on this case by Mr. Justice Black brought out. (The couple were pardoned by the governor of N. C.)

One phase of this Amercian family control revolution is the inclusion of two different conceptions of the meaning of marriage under one system of family law. The Greeks from the time of Pericles onward tried to separate somewhat antithetical family ideals into an extremely secluded family life based upon *manus*, *patria potestas*, and parenthood and a public relation with an *hetara* where few legal and social consequences were involved. In other words they moved toward the oriental conception of polygamy except that the second partner seldom undertook any domestic or familialistic or parental obligations. Public and private wife systems, respectively, developed. This did not work because the private wives rebelled and the public wives never became institutionalized into a family system. Toward the end of the Hellenistic period in Greece, marraige and familism became simply a farce.

The Romans experimented with this and developed two distinct forms of marriage law. If the couple chose the marriage of *dignitas* meaning *manus*, *potestas*, mixing of estates, and procreation, they were supposed to stick by it. If the couple did not prefer these things, they could enter a simpler type of marriage not involving *manus*, *potestas*, mixing of estates, or children. These looser family ties were sanctioned under the *concubinatus* family law and procedure. However, this system failed

<sup>11</sup> The *proprius parochus* idea of the Council of Trent.

<sup>12</sup> *North Carolina vs. Williams.*

because few, either men or women, were willing to choose or, having chosen, to abide by the marriage of *dignitas*. Toward the ending of what the French call the *haut empire* period (*circa* 300 AD), marriage and familism in the Roman society also became a farce—a grand vulgarisation—with extremely debilitating social consequences.

In the United States, for very clear historical reasons, we have tried to cloak both forms of marriage and familism (or lack of them) under one general legal system. This also seems to be coming quickly to a farcical failure because the legal backing of the total family system has always to be only that necessary and adjustable to the weakest unit included in it. As a result, the parental unit in our culture has no real backing in law—or even workable public support. Parents now must try to rear a family under a social and legal system that is adjusted to the other couples who do not want to be bothered with any of the paraphernalia of familism: common income and expenses, children, union for perpetuity, and other serious familialistic obligations. The forgotten person in our modern Western society is the man or woman who honestly or sincerely wants to be a parent. This runs through our whole social system from renting a house, getting along with neighbors, owning a home, or paying taxes to economic advancement in our different forms of bureaucracy.

The fourth modern revolution bringing the family situation to a crisis is the sit-down strike on having

and rearing children. Beginning in the various European countries in the last third of the nineteenth century and spreading and expanding throughout all Christendom, the birth rate has dropped to the negative side of the ledger. Leaving aside Russia, it is possible to predict that our children won't reproduce themselves and their fewer children yet will be positively lonely. This is precisely what happened in Greece and Rome. Again, as in those cultures, the social consequences were delayed by the immigration of peoples from the more familialistic areas. There is also a further similarity, in that when the sources of immigration (what the Romans called the "good barbarians") also became exhausted, the final crisis entered a grand finale in one or two generations. Between 1820 and 1920 the United States imported forty millions of immigrants from Europe. Those are no longer available now. When the United States has exhausted the surplus population of the French Canadians and the Mexicans, about the only peoples of the Western world now left for us, we too will be ready for the grand finale.

#### Analytical and Predictive

Such is the historical background of the problem. It has prepared the way for some statements of another character.

1. The United States, along with the other countries of Western Christendom, will reach the final phases of a great family crisis between now and the end of the present century. By that time the crisis will reach the

period in which its social consequences will approach a maximum. This crisis will be identical in nature with those of Greece and Rome. The influences will be felt much more drastically in the United States because it, being the most extreme and inexperienced of the aggregation, will take its first real "sickness" after its formative period most violently.

2. Efforts to meet this situation in the United States will be most extreme and violent. Probably all the "remedies" suggested or tried in the Greek and Roman civilizations will be tried but little profit will be derived from the mistakes made in those periods. The violence or abruptness of the changes will be very extreme indeed.

3. Very little public knowledge of the nearness, the inevitability or the seriousness of the impending crisis exists. The intellectuals almost completely avoid discussion of it. When they do touch upon it, they hide their heads in the sand of "cultural determinism," holding that the inevitable crisis will approach us very slowly, will be met by the proper remedies at the proper time, and will have no serious social consequences. No

thoughtful analysis of the problem and its revolutionary implications exists.

4. There are many reasons for this, only *one* of which is the fact that the pattern of the modern intellectual was set by the Renaissance and the Reformation. Most of them do not know that the Reformation is over. In abstract terminology, the intellectual mind does not realize that the value systems upon which modern society was built have largely exhausted themselves as did the Greek, Roman, and feudal value systems somewhat earlier.

5. In the past these family crisis have been associated with changes in the vehicular agents which interpret the general social system to the family. The three great vehicular systems which act as mitigators between family and society are the clan, the religious institution, and the national state. Each major change in the family system in Western society has been associated with a shift in power between these three vehicles. The dominant vehicular agents in the most Western parts of Western society have been as follows, by periods:

CHIEF FAMILY CONTROL AGENT BY PERIOD IN WESTERN SOCIETY  
(OMMITTING GREECE)

Agent Controlling Family	General Period of Most Powerful Influence of Agent
Clan	Italian society to period of XII Tables
Religion	XII Tables (450 BC) to Augustus (28 BC-14 AD)
State	Augustus to Constantine (After 300 AD)
Religion	Constantine to Sixth Century AD
Clan	Gregory of Tours (6 century) to Eleventh Century
Religion	Eleventh to Seventeenth Century
State	Seventeenth to Twentieth Century

6. The most devastating social changes have occurred when the state has relinquished its control of familism. This is probably due to the extremely "utilitarian" idea in state control of familism and the "totalitarian" nature of its relation to familism. In the pure clan control system, there is always a great opposition to the excesses in control. The masses and the weaker clans turn to religious and state agencies and appeal for help against the stronger clans in the name of justice (Hesiod in Greece, the *plcbs* in Rome, the common people who entered the feudal system in the early Middle Ages to avoid the excesses of the local "Homers"). In the pure religious control, the religious body uses the clan and the state (after "Christianizing" them) as agencies to control and direct familism (the castigation of Louis of Aix la Chappelle by Nicholas I in the Lothaire divorce case: It was contended that he and Lothaire had set a bad example for all Christendom). But when the state assumes control it brooks no opposition or aid until it has exhausted familialistic resources. Even Augustus, when he used the religious appeal to rebuild Roman familism, made the emperor "God." Instead of appealing to religion, he tried to make the state plan a religious one.

7. Since the forthcoming struggle over familism will be one in which the national states seemingly have exhausted their ability to direct and preserve order in the family system, we may speak of the impending social

disarrangements and confusion as a "crisis" rather than one of the normal and slower changes always going on in the greater family systems.

8. The failures of state control of familism lies partly in its method or lack of method. The state never sets up any ideal of familism as contrasted with clan and religious control. In Homer and Beowulf, documents illustrating extreme clan control, there is an imperishable and inescapable ever-present ethical ideal. When Beowulf makes his last statement before death he reiterates that he had never turned against his kinsmen and re-emphasizes the ethical ideal.

Kinship true  
can never be marred  
in a noble mind.<sup>18</sup>

In religious control of familism, this ethical idealism is present and to a large extent unchanging. Confucius, Ramavana, and St. Augustine set up ideals which are cast aside only with the breaking of the influence of the ethical bodies bounded about their philosophies. However, state law is a constantly changing conception of the family whether it be from the Roman XII Tables to the Novels of Justinian or from the Eleventh Century barbarian Anglo-Saxon code to the recent *North Carolina vs. Williams* of the United States Supreme Court, 1944.

9. All of this means that the social work, which represents public and state attempts to patch up familism, will find itself increasingly inade-

<sup>18</sup> *Beowulf*, line 2509

quate to deal with the problem as this crisis asserts itself more and more. The state will step in with more drastic measures or different attempts at control. Unless these different state measures are very wisely considered they will only make the situation more confused and difficult.

10. If the national states profit by the past experience of the agencies dealing with the family, they will turn to the other vehicular agents which have been influential in dealing with the family and earnestly seek their help. The success of this method will be partly influenced by the earnestness and sincerity of the appeal by the state. No half-way measures

will do. No other agency is willing to make itself a "cat's paw" for the state, to be discarded as quickly as the present crop of chestnuts is drawn from the fire.

11. A drastic need exists for some broad research agency to study this problem of the impending crisis of the family. At present none is in existence which has an adequate vision of the problem. Most of such agencies still are thinking in terms of Erasmus and his family sociology as presented in *Familiar Colloquies*.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For a detailed discussion of this problem with a complete bibliography, cf. *Family and Civilization*, Carle C. Zimmerman, Harper's, 1947.

## Rural Conditions in Postwar Germany\*

By Harry Schwartz†

### ABSTRACT

Rural Germany emerged from defeat relatively unscathed when compared with urban communities, but with its productive capacity sharply reduced by shortages of machinery, livestock and other essentials. During 1945 the composition of the rural population changed enormously as millions of non-German forced laborers went home, while millions of Germans from the Sudetenland and from east of the Oder-Neisse boundary crowded into the truncated remains of the Third Reich, most of them probably going to rural areas since the cities had neither work nor shelter for them. While the three western zones essentially retained the old institutional patterns of land tenure, the land reform in the Soviet zone resulted in the creation, at least nominally, of several hundred thousand new farms. This radical change will probably result in pressure for similar action in the other zones if the land reform attains any degree of

### RESUMEN

La Alemania rural surgió de la derrota relativamente ilesa comparada con comunidades urbanas, pero su capacidad productiva seriamente reducida por la falta de maquinaria, ganado y otros esenciales. Durante el 1945 la composición de la población rural cambió enormemente cuando millones de trabajadores forzados no alemanes volvieron a sus hogares, mientras que millones de alemanes de Sudetenland y del este de la frontera del Oder-Neisse entraron dentro

de los truncados restos del Tercer Reich, la mayor parte con rumbo a áreas rurales pues las ciudades no tenían ni trabajo ni albergue para ellos. Mientras que las tres zonas del oeste retuvieron la antigua norma institucional de la posesión del terreno, la reforma agraria en la zona soviética resultó en la creación, por lo menos nominal de varios cientos de miles de fincas nuevas. Este cambio radical probablemente resultará en presión para obtener acción parecida en las otras zonas si la reforma agraria obtenga algún éxito perceptible.

Generalizations about postwar rural Germany are difficult because in actuality there is no single unified whole today which can be called Germany. Instead there are four occupation zones, American, British, French, and Russian, each of which is set off from all the others by differences in both natural characteristics and in political and economic policy being followed by the occupying power. I have had the opportunity to travel extensively about the American zone of Germany as well as through an important part of the Russian zone. The remarks which follow will therefore deal largely with these two regions.

Rural Germany before the war included roughly 30 percent of that country's population. Farm people, living on about 3 million farms, comprised about two-thirds of the entire rural population.<sup>1</sup> German agriculture included such diverse types of

farming as the large East Prussian and Pomeranian Junkers estates which specialized in grain and potato production, the family sized dairy farms of Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein, and the subsistence farms of Thuringia and Saxony. Agriculture was relatively most important in southern Germany and in eastern Germany, the latter area east of the Oder River being particularly important because it produced major food surpluses for the rest of the country. Agriculture was relatively much less important in the heavily industrialized west which had the bulk of German population and natural resources.

During most of the European war, rural Germany suffered little physical damage. Air raids were directed principally at cities which were centers of industry or transport, so that few indeed were the villages that received bomb hits. When the actual fighting reached German soil, only particular localized areas were the scene of intensive combat and these areas were usually in and about major cities, so that by and large the countryside and villages emerged unscathed. I have driven through lit-

\* This paper is based largely on the author's observations while in Germany from June to October, 1945. The opinions expressed are those of the writer alone and do not reflect the views of the Department of State. This paper was presented to the Rural Sociology Society in Cleveland on March 2, 1946. All time references are with respect to that date. No account has been taken in this paper of developments in 1946.

† Dept. of Economics, Syracuse University.

<sup>1</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1941/42*, Berlin, 1942, pp. 22 and 104. As used here Germany is taken to

include the territory within the borders as of January 1, 1938 and the rural population is that living in communities of less than 2,000 persons.

erally hundreds of hamlets which bear not a single mark of the war. Their undamaged houses and healthy looking people furnish a vivid contrast to the destruction and death evident in most large German communities. Almost everywhere in the American zone last summer and fall, the normality of the countryside was the most obvious superficial characteristic. In the fields farm workers plowed, cultivated, and harvested; in the villages men and women threshed the grain, gathered fire wood for the winter, and repaired their tools, wagons and other equipment. Except for the relative scarcity of young men of military age, the rural scene in the American zone must have been much as it was before the war.

I do not mean to assert that the farming areas in the American zone had not suffered from the war. They had, of course, and the resulting deficiencies of labor, livestock, fertilizer, farm machinery, and other production essentials contributed heavily to reducing the 1945 harvest. But despite this, the rural areas in the American zone showed far less effect of six years of totalitarian war than one would have expected *a priori*, and by comparison with urban Germany the rural districts were fortunate indeed.

In the Russian zone, along and near the autobahn leading west from Berlin, conditions were not entirely the same. A much larger fraction of the land seemed uncultivated, particularly east of the Elbe; there were fewer people in the fields than was

generally true in the west. Livestock—other than that owned by the Red Army—was practically non-existent so far as a traveling observer could judge. The villages, though also usually showing no signs of physical damage, gave no such impression of the bustling maintenance of normal rural routine as similar villages did in the American zone, and rural people in the Russian zone east of the Elbe seemed far less well fed than the corresponding population in the American zone.

The main reasons for the differences between the two zones may be briefly indicated. First, of all the zones, the Russian area experienced the greatest amount of actual combat and rural areas in this zone suffered more than these areas in other zones. Second, the Russian Army lives off the land, requisitioning food, livestock, and other essentials as it requires them and pasturing its horses wherever they may be, regardless of whether a field is planted to grass or to wheat. Third, the Russians from the beginning of their entry into Germany followed a policy of collecting reparations and taking back property stolen from their country so that farms in their area were denuded of much of their livestock, farm machinery and other production essentials, while the food available for the resident population decreased sharply. Yet, despite this, some parts of the Soviet zone seemed almost as normal and flourishing as did the American zone. This was particularly true of the area west of the Elbe, especially

that rich farming region known as the Magdeburger Börde.

While physically much of rural Germany showed little damage from the war last summer, the population of the countryside was undergoing great changes in the period between VE day and the end of 1945. During the war, many German farmers and farm workers were taken out of agriculture and put into the armed forces. To replace these workers, the Hitler regime sent in laborers from France, Holland, Poland, Russia and virtually every other country which came under the Nazi heel. With the downfall of Germany, most of these workers had but one thought, to get home, and so the roads and fields of Germany swarmed with millions of non-Germans going east, west and south to the borders. During the war, too, hundreds of thousands of Germans usually resident in cities were bombed out of their homes and resettled in rural communities to work in farms and forests. The end of the conflict meant the end of air raids to them and so many left the fields to search for their relatives and their possession in their former homes. These tremendous population movements out of the rural villages depleted the agricultural labor force of all zones to a large extent and for a time threatened to be a major factor reducing German farm production in 1945.

But as millions of slave laborers left Germany last spring, summer and fall other millions of Germans became refugees and participated in a

contrary migration of human beings into their motherland. The most important of these immigration movements resulted from the cession to Poland of East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, those parts of Post-Versailles Germany east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers. Persuaded to leave sometimes by force, sometimes by argument, and sometimes by a realization of the hopelessness of their remaining, millions of Germans left these ceded areas and moved west across the river boundaries to the Russian zone. Even the shortest trip along the roads of the Russian zone last summer and fall gave one the opportunity of seeing hundreds of families wearily trudging along on foot, carrying their worldly belongings on their backs and in small hand-pulled carts, seeking a place to start life again. These refugees from Poland were joined also by equally gaunt and gaunt appearing Germans expelled from the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia—many of whom entered Bavaria—and by sick or disabled German war prisoners, over 400,000 of whom were liberated by the Russians in the late summer and early fall. The total number of Germans entering the Russian and American zones during the last nine months of 1945 was probably in excess of five million persons, and some estimates place this immigration total at a much higher figure.

A substantial percentage of these refugees had to be settled in the rural areas of the Russian zone since the absorptive capacity of that zone's ur-

ban districts had been sharply reduced by the war's destruction of dwellings, while their employment capacity had also declined substantially as the result of Russian removals of industrial equipment for reparations. From the beginning of this westward movement, however, substantial numbers of refugees came into the Russian zone only in order to cross it on their way to the American and British zones, and many of them succeeded in their objective despite the legal ban on such zone crossings and the armed guards who patrolled the roads at the zonal borders. These refugees settled in the Russian zone's agricultural areas were the main factor permitting the solution of the difficult farm labor problem that zone faced originally as the result of the exodus of non-German workers from the rural villages.

In the British and American zones the farm labor shortage was solved by releasing hundreds of thousands of captured Germans from prisoner of war camps, priority in release being given those having agricultural backgrounds.

The scrambling of Germany's rural population which has taken place as the result of war and defeat was vividly illustrated to me last September when I interviewed 25 persons in a small farming community near Kassel. Only 10 of the 25 had spent the entire war in that community; five had been in the Wehrmacht and had been released from prisoner of war camps by the American and British armies; one had been captured at

Stalingrad by the Russians and had worked for them in the Ukraine as a prisoner until he became ill after which he was released; five had come to the village after being bombed out of their home cities, Hamburg and Cologne; four were Germans who had fled from Estonia, Latvia, and the neighborhood of Berlin as the Red Army advanced in 1944 and 1945.

There is every reason to believe that this sample was quite representative of the composition of Germany's present rural population, except that it included no Germans who had fled from Poland and Czechoslovakia. Since late last fall, however, large numbers of such refugees have been legally going west into the British, American, and French zones under the provisions of an interallied agreement designed to distribute the burden of absorbing these refugees more equally among all parts of what remains as Germany. During 1945-46, several million Germans are scheduled to move west under this agreement, and there can be no doubt but that large numbers of them will have to be absorbed in the rural areas of the western zones. During 1946 several million additional Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia are expected to enter the truncated remains of their fatherland as those two slavic countries complete the degermanization of their territories.

Turning next to the institutional structure of rural Germany, we must note that the impact of war and defeat has been quite different in the three western zones from the impact in the

Russian zone. In the former regions little has been done to disturb the farm tenure situation or the agricultural control organization which existed under the Nazi regime. In the Soviet zone, however, a number of radical changes have been made. The most important of these changes has been the land reform, an innovation which has been carried out in Germany along the same lines as similar Soviet encouraged land reforms in all the other countries of Eastern Europe liberated or conquered by the Red Army.

The land reform has two primary objectives, first to wipe out the large landowning Junker class which has been a leading element in fostering past German aggression, and second to provide large numbers of poor or landless rural people with small subsistence farms on which they may be able to eke out a living. In particular, attainment of the second goal provides a means of absorbing part of the refugee population which has entered the Soviet Zone.

To effectuate the land reform, the ordinances enacted in the Soviet Zone have provided for the following:<sup>2</sup>

1. A land fund was created composed of the confiscated estates of all those owning more than 100 hectares of arable or forest land (with some exceptions such as land owned by the churches). In addition, all land owned by Nazi leaders, active Nazi party members and other active sup-

porters of the Hitler regime was expropriated and included in the land fund, regardless of the size of the individual holding. The confiscation decree applied to all assets on the estates taken over, and not merely to the land.

2. Most of the expropriated land was distributed among the small farmers, farm laborers, and refugees in each community; the land not so distributed being turned over to local or provincial governments for agricultural experimentation, seed production, and other special purposes. Small farmers who had some land received additional land so as to enable them to have a five hectare plot. Farm laborers, refugees, and other landless persons were entitled to receive five hectare farms. In some areas of poor land, however, farms of up to 10 hectares could be and were created under the land reform.

3. Land recipients must pay the state a sum corresponding to the value of one year's crop at prices prevailing in the fall of 1945. A first installment of 10 percent had to be paid before the end of 1945, unless payment was postponed by local authorities. The remainder is to be paid in equal installments over 10 to 20 years.

4. Farms established under the land reform may not be divided up, sold, leased, or mortgaged either wholly or in part.

5. Agricultural machinery found on the confiscated estates has been transferred to the ownership of committees for mutual aid among peasants. These committees have organ-

<sup>2</sup> This summary is based on the texts of the land reform ordinances of the various Soviet zone provinces as published in the Berlin newspapers last September and October.

ized central stations which will rent farm machinery to farmers in their vicinity, much as the machine tractor stations in the Soviet Union rent such machinery to collective farms they serve.

Administration of the land reform was entrusted to a hierarchical system of committees at each administrative level, proceeding upward from the local village to the *Kreis*, the *Bezirk*, and finally the province. At the local level these committees were composed of small peasants and landless persons selected by vote from among those eligible to receive land. Actual division of the land and its assignment to individual families took place at public meetings open to all persons eligible as recipients.

The bulk of the confiscation and actual distribution of land took place last fall. During September, local committees inventoried the confiscated land in their communities and made lists of persons eligible to benefit from the reform. Trustees were placed in charge of the expropriated estates in an effort to prevent owners from sabotaging the land reform by slaughtering livestock, destroying equipment, or other illegal acts. A recent report indicates that the land reform has been virtually completed. A total of 9,300 estates were confiscated, being replaced by some 300,000 small farms. The recipients of this land got a total of about 1,500,000 hectares, or about five hectares each on the average. Most of the beneficiaries were "dwarf" farmers or farm workers resident in the same

localities as the confiscated estates, and only about 25 per cent of them were immigrants from outside the localities in which they got land.<sup>3</sup>

The future of the new farms set up by the land reform in the Soviet zone is a subject of the most profound importance for the future development of land tenure in all Germany. With the overcrowding of the countryside that has resulted from the transfer of German refugees into all the zones there is great pressure to provide land for as many of these newcomers as possible. If the new small farms in the Soviet zone return their occupants any sort of satisfactory living, that is, satisfactory when compared with the general low standard of life in contemporary Germany, that fact will become generally known in all zones and the pressure for similar land divisions elsewhere will increase. That there is opportunity for some land redistribution in the western zones is evident from the fact that in 1939 the territory embraced by the present American, British, and French zones had over 13,000 farms and forest enterprises with more than 100 hectares. These covered about 5 million hectares. However, about 80 per cent of these 5 million hectares consisted of forest land and less than a million was used for agriculture.<sup>4</sup> Since forest land is obviously not as well suited for the purposes of a land reform as is agricultural land, it seems dubious that

<sup>3</sup> Berlin Radio, February 6, 1946, and *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (Berlin), November 21, 1945.

<sup>4</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

more than perhaps 300,000-400,000 small farms could be set up in all the western zones through a land reform movement, even if the pattern set in the Russian zone were to be followed completely.

Will the new farms set up in the Russian zone enable their owners to make a tolerable living? Obviously they have been created in a period during which they face heavy difficulties as the result of extreme shortages of livestock, farm machinery, seed, fertilizer, farm buildings, and other production essentials. In addition many of the new farm operators are not accustomed to managing their own enterprises and cannot be expected to obtain the most from their land without outside guidance. Then there is the central problem of whether five hectares of average land in eastern Germany is sufficient to provide a tolerable living for a family over a number of years. All these questions are difficult to answer, and they are raised on the assumption that these new farms in the Soviet zone will be operated as individual enterprises. There is, however, reason to believe that these new farms will be individually operated only in the most nominal sense and that actually the confiscated estates will, in the main, continue to be operated as a unit by the land reform beneficiaries working cooperatively. One report published in a Communist newspaper in Berlin last fall indicated that each of the new farmers would be allowed to do as he wished with only one quarter of his

land. Three quarters of each of the new farms was to be joined with the similar portions of all the other new farms to make a large farming unit operated with the labor of all the new farmers. Such cooperative effort would be facilitated by the fact that on many of the divided estates the new owners live close together, frequently occupying different rooms in the estate's manor house since a sufficient number of individual houses are lacking. Certainly such cooperative use of the land would be the most efficient means of making use of the available land under the conditions of scarcity of agricultural production essentials prevailing in Germany today. That the Russian authorities will be inclined to encourage such cooperative activity seems likely in view of their familiarity with the collective farm system in the USSR.

It is obvious that rural Germany today is in a transitional stage with important changes occurring both in its population and its institutions. If one thing is certain for the next few years it is that the farms and forests of what is left of Germany will have to support a far greater number of people, both in rural and urban communities, than before the war. Important adjustments will have to be made by the Germans and by the occupying powers if the new situation is not to result in disaster and perhaps a revival of German fascism.

Given the situation that exists in Germany today, how can rural sociologists contribute to solving the problems that exist? I must note that

while I was in Germany I saw almost no use of rural sociologists nor of the systematic concepts with which rural sociologists deal. My own suspicion is that those who made overall agricultural policy in the American zone and those who had to execute this policy at the local level would have benefited very much if they had had more advice and help from rural sociologists, but all that is water under the dam. What is certain is that policy makers now and in the future will have to take into account the conflicts and problems that have arisen from the tremendous shift in the composition of Germany's rural population. Since these problems will arise in large measure from the relationships between the heterogeneous groups which are now being forced to live together in the truncated remains of Germany, it seems to me that trained sociologists must be the people who analyze the actual course of events and the adjustments or maladjustments that are developing. It is these sociologists—rural sociologists insofar as the rural population is concerned—who can best suggest policies designed to facilitate the absorption of the newcomers into what remains of German society, an absorption which must be accomplished with a minimum of conflict and friction if the occupying powers are not to find their difficult task made even more difficult.

Beyond the immediate problem of reintegrating the German rural population after the profound shocks of

war and defeat, there is the longer run problem of the adjustment of land use and land tenure to the vastly increased population. The whole system of land tenure in the American zone might well be reexamined in the light of the new situation, and the sociologist as well as the economist has a contribution to make in reaching the decision as to what changes in the existing situation might minimize the hardship resulting from the increase in the density of rural and urban population.

In the above the emphasis has been on how rural sociology can be of use to the policy makers and administrators, but it must be pointed out that for the sake of their field itself rural sociologists must follow developments in Germany most closely. In that country there are now meeting the agricultural ideas and policies of five different countries, of five different ways of life. In a very real sense this meeting has resulted in competition among these ways of rural life. The final pattern of German agriculture and rural life will represent either a composite of all the influences now playing upon Germany, or the triumph of one of those influences. This competition of agricultural ways of life in Germany is but one instance of the whole competition between rival ideologies and ways of life throughout the world, a competition that has been intensified by the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as the chief powers in the world as it exists after the defeat

of the Axis. The developments in German agriculture will be an important straw in the wind that will indicate how the pattern of all the world's

agriculture and rural peoples will be modified in the years to come in the light of the new balance of world power and world influence.

## School Acceleration and Retardation Among Open Country Children in Southern Oklahoma\*

By Robert T. McMillan†

### ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes school acceleration and retardation of open country white children in relationship to the following factors: location, age, and sex of child; farm tenure status, Sewell's socio-economic status scores, schooling, number of children in school, migration, and type of farm of parents. In all, 65 per cent of the children studied are at the expected grade in school, 12 percent are accelerated and 23 percent retarded one or more years based on an entering age of 6 or 7 years. Retardation is more frequent, more consistent, and less erratic than acceleration in respect to most of the factors studied.

### RESUMEN

Este informe analiza la aceleración y el retardamiento escolar de los niños blancos que viven en la expansión de los campos, con respecto a los siguientes factores: localidad, edad y sexo del niño, el estado de la tenencia de la tierra, relaciones existentes entre el estadio socioeconómico seq', la escala de Sewell, la extensión de instrucción, el número de niños en la escuela, la migración, y la clase de tenencia de la tierra de los padres. Por todos, el 65% de los niños estudiados están en el grado escolar que es de esperar, el 12% acelerado, y el 23% se han retardado uno o más años basándose en la edad de 6 to 7 años como la de entrada. El retar damiento es más frecuente, más consecuente, y menos errático que la aceleración con respecto a la mayoría de los factores estudiados.

### Introduction

Several studies have dealt with the relationship of intelligence scores of pupils to the occupation of parents and to other criteria of socio-economic status, but research on the relationship between school progress and family status is limited.<sup>1</sup> This paper

economic Factors," *The Thirty-Ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1940) 159-210; Richards C. Osborn, "How Is Intellectual Performance Related to Social and Economic Background," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 34 (1943) 215-228; William McGehee and W. D. Lewis, "The Socio-Economic Status of the Homes of Mentally Superior and Retarded Children and the Occupational Rank of Parents," *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 60 (1942) 375-380. Studies of the second type include Otis Durant Duncan, *An Analysis of Farm Family Organization in Oklahoma*, Ph.D Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1941, Chapter X, and Mattie Faye McCollum, *A Compari-*

\* This paper is a contribution of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

† Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

<sup>1</sup> For studies of the first type see Jane Loevinger, "Intelligence as Related to Socio-

analyzes school acceleration and retardation among open country white children in southern Oklahoma. Its purpose is to test the hypothesis that farm tenure status, migration, schooling of parents, and certain other factors are related functionally to the acceleration and retardation of children in school. The study assumes that the factors analyzed are expressive of significant environmental forces which collectively determine the progress of children in school if native endowments are about equal.

#### Data Studied

The data studied were taken from personal interviews with 324 families in southwestern Oklahoma during 1943 and 371 families in the southeastern part of the State during February and March, 1944.<sup>2</sup> Only those children attending school and in grades one through twelve were used. There were 325 children in these grades from southwestern Oklahoma and 465 from the southeastern part of the State.

The age-grade distributions assume that a child should progress

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*son of Rural Relief and Non-Relief Households of Two Oklahoma Counties in Relation to Social and Economic Organization*, Master's Thesis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1938, pp. 93-96. For a bibliography of studies on acceleration and retardation of pupils see P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931) II, 254-256.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the procedures used in selecting areas and sampling, see Robert T. McMillan, *Social Factors Related to Farm Housing in Southern Oklahoma*, AES Tech. Bul. T-22 (Stillwater, Oklahoma, October, 1945), pp. 25-28.

through school at the rate of one grade per year. Although the legal minimum age at which children enter school in Oklahoma is six years, a few children begin at five years and many more start at seven. Therefore, pupils were classed as making expected progress if they had completed the first grade by the end of their sixth or seventh year, the eighth grade by the time they were 14 or 15 years old, and the twelfth grade when they were 18 or 19 years of age. For example, a pupil was considered as accelerated if he had finished the fifth grade at the age of ten years, or retarded if he had completed only the second grade at the same age.

#### Results of Study

*Area.* A larger proportion of the children surveyed are accelerated and a smaller proportion retarded in southwestern than in southeastern Oklahoma. In the former area, 16.6 per cent of the children are accelerated and 19.4 per cent retarded; in the latter area, 9.5 per cent are progressing more rapidly and 26.0 per cent more slowly than expected (Table I).

It is difficult to explain the differences in pupil progress between the two areas, but these facts are suggestive. In 1940, the median years completed in school by the population 25 years old and older in the counties surveyed was fully one year less in southeastern than in southwestern Oklahoma.<sup>3</sup> Also, the expenditures

<sup>3</sup> Data taken from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population*, Oklahoma, Second Series, Table 27. It is only fair to point out that despite the difference noted, the counties in southeastern Okla-

per capita for children in average daily attendance during 1943-44 averaged nearly ten per cent less in the counties of southeastern than in those of southwestern Oklahoma.<sup>4</sup> A measure of qualitative differences in schools is found in Brown's index of school efficiency which shows southeastern Oklahoma counties scoring lowest among those of the State<sup>5</sup>. These data on the level of schooling, per capita expenditures for schools, and Brown's index are associated with the differences in school progress of the children studied in the two areas.

*Age.* The proportions of pupils retarded increase sharply with age in both areas studied (Table I).<sup>6</sup> This is to be expected because the effects of lost time in school usually are cumulative. On the other hand, the percentages of accelerated pupils decrease with advancing age in southwestern but not in southeastern Oklahoma. In the latter area the amount of acceleration is relatively small and therefore subject to little change. Ordinarily, as school children grow older it seems that the relative amount of acceleration should decrease. However, the inconsistency of results

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homa are making greater efforts to support their schools in relation to ability to pay than those counties in southwestern Oklahoma.

<sup>4</sup> *Twentieth Biennial Report of the State Department of Education of Oklahoma, 1944*, Table 31.

<sup>5</sup> E. E. Brown, *A Statistical Survey By Counties of Education in Oklahoma*, Oklahoma State Department of Education, Bul. 110, (1925) 37.

<sup>6</sup> Similar results were observed in Duncan's study, *op. cit.*, 322.

shown between the two areas raises the question of the conditions under which acceleration occurs. Although acceleration and retardation are not exactly complementary as the evidence shows, similar factors appear to be responsible for both phenomena.

Acceleration and retardation can be ascribed to at least four factors other than that of age: (1) variations in intelligence, (2) differences in opportunities associated with economic status, (3) comparative status of schools as judged by such indexes as expenditures per pupil, average daily attendance, average teacher's salary, and others, and (4) administrative policy regarding promotions. Wide differences in intelligence, apparent in nearly every random group of pupils, almost inevitably lead to deviations from the expected mobility through the grades. As much or more deviation from the normal school progress arises from differences in family status. Children from families with comparatively high status, as measured later in this study by farm tenure and by Sewell's socio-economic status scores, probably have more opportunities for rapid promotion in school by reason of their informal or home training and incentive to benefit socially and economically from schooling than do children from families with low status. On the other hand, the weaknesses of family training and incentive can lead to retarded progress in school. A third factor inheres in the status of the school itself.<sup>7</sup> Pro-

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<sup>7</sup> For example, the proportions of children graduating from the eighth grade and

bably there is as great a range of difference in the quality of public schools as in the intelligence scores of pupils who attend them. Another factor influencing the relative numbers of pupils accelerated and retarded relates to school policy on promotions. In order to effect economies in operation or to please patrons and pupils, schools sometimes maintain a policy of passing many students whose marks do not warrant it and of accelerating students with high scholastic standing.

**Sex.** Proportionally, girls are accelerated more and retarded less in schools than boys (Table I).<sup>8</sup> These differences are much larger in southeastern than in southwestern Oklahoma. Apparently the factors contributing to differences between the sexes in school performance operate with greater intensity in the southeastern part of the State. Girls usually show more interest in school and attend more regularly than boys. Also, in rural areas, boys drop out of school frequently to assist with the crops. Doubtless, many of them lose interest and stay away from school until the beginning of a new term. Since farming operations are mechanized to a smaller degree and less hired labor is

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from high school are largest in counties with high percentages of college-trained teachers and high average teacher's salary, E. E. Brown, *op. cit.*, 32-40.

<sup>8</sup>This confirms similar findings in previous studies. See George C. Kyte, "Pupil Status In The Rural Elementary School," *The Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Society For The Study of Education, Part I* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1931) 25-54, and Mattie Faye McCollum, *op. cit.*, 93-96.

used in southeastern than in southwestern Oklahoma, the need of children, especially boys, in the farm labor force is greater in the former area.

**Farm Tenure Status.** A direct relationship exists between children's progress in school and the farm tenure status of parents. Children of farm owners are accelerated more frequently and retarded less often than those of tenants, and, in turn, the latter compare favorably with "others," *i.e.*, farm laborers and non-farm workers (Table I).

These tenure differences in school progress can be ascribed to several factors. First, for the reason that landless families migrate more than landowning families, their children experience frequent changes in school with accompanying problems of adjustment to new situations. Second, income differences among tenure groups result in differences in ability to pay for clothing, meals, books, and in some instances, transportation. Third, farm owning families probably are more effective than landless families in indoctrinating children with the values of schooling. Fourth, because of the cumulative effects of the foregoing factors, children of tenant and "other" families probably attend school less regularly and receive somewhat lower grades, which tends to weaken their incentives for school achievement.

**Socio-economic Status.** When school progress is tabulated according to Sewell's socio-economic status scale scores, clearcut and uniform re-

sults are obtained.<sup>9</sup> As socio-economic status improves, the degree of acceleration increases and retardation decreases (Table I). The difference in school progress between the lowest and middle scored groups varies more than that between the middle and highest scored groups, which suggests that children from families with relatively low status are handicapped disproportionately in their efforts to acquire schooling. Confirmation of this point can be found in a study of grade attainment of relief youth who were in school in October, 1935.<sup>10</sup>

*Schooling of Parents.* The progress of children through school depends to a considerable extent upon the amount of schooling possessed by the parents. In Table I, the percentages of children retarded are more than twice as large when their parents report less than eight grades of schooling as they are when parents have completed eight or more grades. Also, differences can be observed in the amount of acceleration among children from similar groupings of parents. These findings confirm those reported in an earlier urban study.<sup>11</sup> Probably children

<sup>9</sup> The procedure for scoring socio-economic status is described in William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, AES Tech. Bul. 9, (Stillwater, Oklahoma, April, 1940).

<sup>10</sup> Bruce L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI, U. S. Gov't. Printing Office (Washington, 1937), 29-30.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Elmer Holley, "The Relationship Between Persistence in School and Home Conditions," *The Fifteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II*, (Bloomington, Illinois:

whose parents have limited formal education receive little encouragement to attain normal school progress, but other important social and economic factors may be present in the situation.

*Number of Children in School.* Nearly twice as many pupils from families with three or more children in school as from families with fewer children are accelerated. The percentages of children retarded are approximately one-half as large among small as among large families. How can these facts be explained?

Relatively large families are more likely to be handicapped economically and disadvantaged socially than relatively small families, and consequently, children from the former group tend to make slower school progress than those from the latter group. Parents tend to have less schooling, income per capita is less, and the general socio-economic status usually is lower in large than in small families.

*Migration.* Frequent moving of families often hinders school achievement, as is shown by data in Table II. The relative amount of school retardation increases progressively from the least to the most migratory groups of families.<sup>12</sup> The proportion of pupils accelerated drops sharply between migration groups I and II, but between

Public School Publishing Company, 1919), 54-55..

<sup>12</sup> Migration groups were obtained by dividing the families surveyed into four equal classes arranged according to the number of moves during the past ten years, with age of head of family held constant. Note in Table II the increase in numbers of pupils from migration group I through IV.

the remaining groups differences are small. As is the case among some of the preceding analyses, the amount of retardation furnishes a more consistent measure of school progress than the amount of acceleration. Probably children of families who frequently change locations tend to lose time and interest in school.<sup>13</sup> Their school attendance is less regular and grade average somewhat lower than for those whose families maintain relatively stable residence.

*Type of Farm.* Acceleration and retardation of pupils in school vary by

<sup>13</sup> J. T. Sanders shows that children of families which move infrequently average approximately one-fifth more educational progress per year of school age than those of families which move frequently. *Economic and Social Aspects of Mobility of Oklahoma Farmers*, AES Bul. 195, (Stillwater, Oklahoma, August, 1929), 56-64.

type of farm. Although the type-of-farm classifications used in Table III are not exactly comparable between areas, important differences can be observed within each area. In southwestern Oklahoma, children from families operating crop farms (cotton mainly) experience the lowest progress in school while those from families on livestock farms advance the fastest. The differences between children from general farms with varying proportions of cropland devoted to cotton and small grain are not statistically significant. In southeastern Oklahoma, most of the children studied live on small, self-sufficing farms, and this group makes the poorest showing with respect to school progress. The performance of pupils from families on crop farms and

TABLE I. PERCENTAGES OF ACCELERATED AND RETARDED PUPILS IN TWO OPEN COUNTRY AREAS OF OKLAHOMA, CLASSIFIED BY SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS.

Socioeconomic Characteristic	Southwestern Oklahoma			Southeastern Oklahoma		
	Number of Pupils	Percentage Accelerated	Percentage Retarded	Number of Pupils	Percentage Accelerated	Percentage Retarded
Both sexes	325	16.6	19.4	465	9.5	26.0
Males	165	15.2	20.6	234	5.1	30.3
Females	160	18.1	18.1	231	13.9	21.6
<i>Ages in years</i>						
6-10	96	25.0	3.2	178	8.4	16.9
11-15	144	16.7	24.3	212	9.9	28.8
16-20	85	7.1	29.4	75	9.4	40.0
<i>Farm tenure status</i>						
Owners	142	19.7	12.7	205	12.2	20.0
Tenants	127	17.3	18.9	167	7.8	33.5
Others	56	8.9	37.5	93	6.5	25.8
<i>Socio-economic status scale</i>						
Under 140	37	8.1	51.4	266	4.3	33.0
140-169	142	16.9	18.3	167	16.8	18.6
170 and over	141	19.1	12.1	30	13.3	10.0
<i>Schooling of parents</i>						
Under eight grades	119	16.0	27.7	331	7.6	32.8
Eight grades and over	196	16.8	12.7	132	14.4	15.9
<i>No. of children in school per family</i>						
One or two	172	20.3	12.8	207	13.5	18.4
Three or more	149	12.8	28.2	256	6.0	32.3

TABLE II. PERCENTAGES OF ACCELERATED AND RETARDED PUPILS IN SOUTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA BY MIGRATION GROUPS.

Migration Group	Number of Pupils	Percentage	
		Accelerated	Retarded
All groups	465	9.5	26.0
Group I	95	15.8	16.8
Group II	111	8.1	20.7
Group III	119	8.4	26.9
Group IV	140	7.1	35.5

TABLE III. PERCENTAGES OF ACCELERATED AND RETARDED PUPILS IN TWO OPEN COUNTRY AREAS BY TYPE OF FARM.

Type of Farm	Number of Pupils	Percentage	
		Accelerated	Retarded
<i>Southwestern Oklahoma</i>			
All types	260	18.1	15.8
Crop	48	8.3	29.2
General cotton	72	18.1	12.5
General cotton and small grain	117	20.5	13.7
Livestock	23	26.1	8.7
<i>Southwestern Oklahoma</i>			
All types	362	9.9	25.7
Self-sufficing	224	8.9	29.5
Crop	35	8.6	22.9
Livestock	34	20.6	14.7
Other	89	9.0	21.3

"other" farms, which includes part-time farmers mostly, rates somewhat more favorably. The children proceeding most rapidly through the grades come from families operating livestock farms.

Type of farming may not be a causal factor in school progress, but such factors as labor organization, number of acres in crops, and income, which are associated with it do contribute to differences in school attendance and achievements of farm children.

### Summary

The findings of this study of pupil acceleration and retardation among open country children in southern

Oklahoma can be summarized in the following statements: (1) children in the public schools advance more rapidly through the grades in southwestern than in southeastern Oklahoma; (2) retardation increases proportionally with age of pupils, but in only one area does acceleration decrease as age increases; (3) higher proportions are accelerated and smaller proportions retarded among girls than boys; (4) progress through the school grades decreases in the following order among children of farm tenure groups: owners, tenants, and "other" (farm laborers and miscellaneous workers); (5) movement through the grades tends to increase as Sewell's socio-economic status scores increase in size; (6) progress in the schooling of children is related directly to the amount of parents' schooling; (7) pupils from families with one or two children in school are more accelerated and less retarded than those from families with three or more children in school; (8) mobility through the school grades is hindered by excessive moving of families; (9) children from families operating livestock farms progress more rapidly in school than those from families on one-crop, general, and self-sufficing farms; and, (10) the study indicates that the amount of retardation exceeds that of acceleration and suggests that retardation reflects larger and more consistent differences than acceleration in the school progress of children classified by socio-economic characteristics.

# The Use of Publicity Materials in South Dakota Weeklies

By George L. Abernethy† and  
Paul M. Berry†

## ABSTRACT

Editors of South Dakota weeklies make relatively little use of the mass of free clip-sheets, news releases, mats, etc., sent them by a variety of agencies, special interest groups, and organizations. Eighty-nine such concerns sent materials over a three weeks' period. Only twelve of these succeeded to any significant extent in getting their materials inserted, one-half of which were public or charitable institutions.

The editors justify their high rate of rejections on the grounds that the materials are ill-adapted to local reader interest and that they are, in the main, bids for free publicity under a thin guise. There is evidence of a high degree of selectivity exercised by the editors and a sensitivity to "loaded" materials on the part of most of them.

## RESUMEN

Los redactores de los semanarios de South Dakota se aprovechan poco de la enorme cantidad de recortes, noticias, fotografías, etc., que les envían varias agencias, grupos especiales interesados, y otras organizaciones. Ochenta y nueve de tales organizaciones enviaron material durante un período de tres semanas. Sólo doce, la mitad instituciones de caridad, obtuvieron éxito notable en la publicación del material.

Los redactores justifican el alto promedio de rechazo arguyendo que dicho material no se adapta al interés del lector local y porque la mayor parte es un atentado a obtener publicidad gratis. Se nota gran selectividad ejercida por la mayor parte de los redactores que adivinan la publicidad por más escondida que se halle.

## I. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to discover the extent to which releases, bulletins, features, clip-sheets, mats and other publicity materials now being sent to small-town weekly newspapers are used by the recipients. The authors were able to examine and catalogue all the releases and other publicity materials received by two South Dakota weeklies during a three weeks' period.<sup>1</sup> It was assumed that this would constitute a fair sam-

ple of the materials being received by South Dakota weeklies. For five consecutive weeks<sup>2</sup> following the first week's cataloguing of these materials thirty-seven South Dakota weeklies were examined to ascertain the number of times, if any, such releases or publicity materials were used by the weeklies. After these data were compiled a questionnaire was sent to the editors of the thirty-seven weeklies and to the editors of eight others not included in the original sample to discover their attitudes toward the publicity materials they were receiving. No effort was made to analyze the content of syndicated materials from

† University of South Dakota.

‡ Macalester College. Formerly at University of South Dakota.

<sup>1</sup> November 8-29, 1945. (The cooperation of R. T. DeVany and J. B. Townsley in this matter is gratefully acknowledged.)

<sup>2</sup> November 15-December 18, 1945.

the Western Newspaper Union appearing in the weeklies since this type of material is ordinarily purchased by the newspaper publishing it. The study was confined to *free* materials sent out by various sources in the hope that the weeklies would publish them.

## II. The Sample

There are 185 South Dakota weekly newspapers listed in the 1945 Ayer Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals. Thus the thirty-seven South Dakota weeklies examined represent a 20% sample. Thirty-three of these weeklies reported circulation figures ranging from a low of 530 to a high of 3,200. The median circulation was 1,350. The distribution is as follows:

Circulation	Number of Weeklies
500- 999.....	8
1000-1499.....	9
1500-1999.....	10
2000-2499.....	2
2500-2999.....	2
3000-3499.....	2

Although no analysis of the content of Western Newspaper Union syndicated materials was made, the extent of their use was noted as it throws some light on the nature of the sample. It was discovered that eleven of the weeklies used regularly two to four pages of WNU "ready-prints." Eleven other weeklies used occasional WNU features but not full pages. When the group of eleven weeklies using regularly from two to four pages of WNU "ready-prints" was examined, it was found that nine of them had used five or more releases during the period in which they were

inspected. It was also discovered that six of these weeklies fell in the group of eight newspapers with the smallest circulations (500-999). Fifteen weeklies of the sample (41%) did not use any WNU materials in the period studied.

## III. Use of Releases

When the sample of thirty-seven weeklies was examined for five consecutive weeks it was discovered that five of the weeklies had used no releases nor other publicity materials during the period. (Two of these weeklies did publish some WNU syndicated materials.) The circulations of four of these five weeklies exceeded the median circulation of the entire sample.

It was discovered that 12 of the 37 weeklies (32.4%) fell into the group using from 1 to 4 releases during the period of the study. (Eight of these twelve weeklies used some WNU materials.) In this group of twelve weeklies were found the weekly with the median circulation and four weeklies which exceeded the median circulation.

There were also eleven weeklies in the sample (29.7%) using from 5 to 9 releases in this same period of time. (Five of these eleven weeklies used some WNU materials.) Seven of these eleven weeklies reported circulations which exceeded the median circulation while one weekly did not report its circulation.

There were nine weeklies (24.3%) that used ten or more releases during the five weeks' period. The largest number of releases (28) was used by

the weekly with the smallest circulation (530) in the entire sample. (Among these nine weeklies were five which used some WNU materials.) In this group of nine weeklies it is significant to note that only one weekly reported a circulation which exceeded the median circulation.

*Sources Having 10-45 Insertions:*

Hon. Karl Mundt (45).

South Dakota State College (25).

E. Hofer & Sons (19).

National Association of Manufacturers (14).

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (12).

Hon. Francis Case (11).

It is significant to note that in the group of releases having the widest acceptance were the newsletters of the State's two Congressmen. The greater use of Congressman Mundt's newsletters may have been influenced in part by the fact that they contained lively material based on his impressions derived from a congressional junket to the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Although twenty different weeklies used, in the five weeks' period, one or more of Congressman Mundt's releases, it should be noted that twenty-four (53.3%) of the insertions are accounted for by six weeklies in the sample. Two of these weeklies used five newsletters, while two used four, and two used three. Most of the releases emanating from South Dakota State College which were used by the weeklies (14 different weeklies) were essentially releases of the Extension Service.

The releases distributed by E. Hof-

er & Sons were mimeographed "canned" editorials dealing with current topics from the special viewpoint of conservative businessmen. Only two weeklies used these releases. The weekly with the smallest circulation (530) in the sample used three of these "canned" editorials without alteration each week during the five weeks' period. Features from the industrial news "clip-sheet" of the National Association of Manufacturers were used by only four weeklies in the sample. All four of these weeklies had circulations falling below the median circulation.

The release from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was a picture mat of the South Dakota Chairman of the "March of Dimes" which was used by twelve different weeklies. In this group of sources which were able to secure from 10 to 45 insertions of their releases there was not a single release which mentioned a "brand-name" or a commercial product. Four of the six sources in this group had releases which had a special appeal for South Dakota readers in that they mentioned South Dakota personages or situations.

*Sources Having 5-9 Insertions:*

Carl Byoir and Associates (7).  
Fleet Home Town News Center (7).

Institute of Life Insurance (6).  
South Dakota Children's Home Society (6).

South Dakota Southern Normal School (7).

University of South Dakota News Bureau (7).

In this group of sources it is interesting to note that two were state educational institutions. The materials released by them contained individual stories about prominent students, excerpts from a study made by a professor, announcements about courses, and a story about provisions made for returning veterans. The release from the South Dakota Children's Home Society was part of a fund-raising campaign. The Fleet Home Town News Center furnished short news stories about individual sailors to the sailor's home town newspaper.

The releases from the Institute of Life Insurance which were used were cartoons. Approximately half of the cartoons made available to the weeklies contained references to life insurance, but none of the cartoons used was one of the group referring to life insurance. The users of the Institute of Life Insurance cartoons were weeklies which did not use a WNU syndicated editorial cartoon. Carl Byoir and Associates was the only source in this group successful in obtaining insertions of a release which carried a reference to a commercial sponsor. It was a mat of a South Dakota County Social Security Director who had been nominated by the American Legion for a \$1000 "Man of the Year" prize offered by the Schenley Distillers Corporation. Five of the six sources in this group had releases which had a special South Dakota "angle" for the weeklies in the sample.

*Sources Having 1-4 Insertions:*  
Air Transport Association of America (2).

American Bankers Association (2).  
American Fat Salvage Committee (2).  
American Foundation for Animal Health (4).  
AAF Regional and Convalescent Hospital (1).  
Army Service Courses (1).  
Leon Block and Associates (2).  
Book-of-the-Month Club (2).  
Army Air Field, Sioux Falls (1).  
Fred Braun (1).  
Chevrolet Motor Division (2).  
John A. Clements (2).  
Country Gentlemen (4).  
Greater South Dakota Association (3).  
International Cartoon Company (1).  
Livestock Sanitary Committee (2).  
National Broadcasting Company (1).  
National Livestock and Meat Board (4).  
Northwestern Lumberman's Association (1).  
Sister Kenr' Foundation (4).  
South Dakota Crop and Livestock Reporting Service (1).  
South Dakota Farm Bureau (3).  
South Dakota State Board of Health (2).  
South Dakota War Finance Committee (3).  
United States Civil Service (1).  
United States Navy Sub Station (1).  
Victory Clothing Drive (3).  
Victory Sports Alliance (1).  
War Department (3).

Of the twenty-nine sources in this group a total of seven sources (American Bankers Association; Army Air Field, Sioux Falls; Greater South Dakota Association; South Dakota Crop and Livestock Reporting Service; South Dakota Farm Bureau;

South Dakota Board of Health; South Dakota War Finance Committee) had releases which had a definite South Dakota "angle" to them. Eight of the remaining sources had releases which dealt explicitly with some phase of the armed services or auxiliary civilian services related to the war and reconversion needs. One source (International Cartoon Company) offered two decks of playing cards and an ash-tray if the publisher would furnish advertising spaces for its cartoons. Only one weekly apparently accepted this offer and the first cartoon appeared in the fifth week the sample was examined. In this group of twenty-nine sources there were six which sent out releases which mentioned specific brand names, products or services of a commercial character.

*Sources Having No Insertions:*

American Association for United Nations, Inc.  
American Petroleum Institute.  
Army Air Base, Sioux City.  
Automobile Manufacturers' Association.  
Batten, Barton, Durstine, & Osborn, Inc.  
Belgium Government Information Center.  
Bowlers' Victory Legion.  
Chamber of Commerce.  
Department of Commerce, Office of Surplus Property.  
Commodity News Service.  
Congress of Industrial Organizations.  
Cornelius Company.  
Cotton-Textile Institute, Inc.  
Editorial Services.  
Electrical Manufacturers' Public Information Center.  
Margaret Ettinger.  
Feature News Service.

Foremost Feature Service.  
Congressman Full.  
General Electric Company.  
Gypsum Association.  
International Council of Religious Education.  
Hon. Estes Kefauver.  
Kudner Agency.  
National Dairy Council.  
National Education Association.  
The National Grange.  
National Kindergarten Association.  
National Needlecraft Bureau, Inc.  
Navy Branch Public Information Office.  
The Navy League of the United States.  
Oldsmobile Division — General Motors.  
Public Administration Clearing House.  
Review and Herald Publishing Association.  
The Royal Egyptian Legation.  
S. C. Syndicate.  
Doctor Salsbury's Laboratories.  
Salvation Army.  
Sonotone Research Laboratories.  
South Dakota Reclamation Association.  
South Dakota School of Mines and Technology.  
Supreme Council, 33°, Southern Jurisdiction, U. S. A.  
U. S. O. Department of Public Information.  
United States Navy Recruiting Station.  
Walters Feature Service.  
Women's International Bowling Conference, Inc.  
World Government Association, Inc.  
Yankton College News Service.

Forty-eight of the total eighty-nine sources, (53.9%), failed to obtain a single insertion of a news release in

the sample of 37 weeklies which was examined. Only three of these sources sent out releases which had a South Dakota "angle." Two of the other sources were charitable organizations and one a religious organization. The National Grange which was found in this group of sources has practically no membership in the state. Most of the releases emanating from this group of sources either contained specific references to brand names and corporations or else consisted of bulky background material which did not lend itself readily to the uses of the busy editor.

#### IV. Questionnaire Responses

As mentioned above, a questionnaire was sent to forty-five editors of South Dakota weeklies. This group included the editors of the thirty-seven weeklies that were systematically examined plus eight others chosen from the Black Hills area, whose papers were not available for examination. Thirty questionnaires were returned all of which were usable.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of the questionnaire was (1) to get the editors' opinions of such releases and (2) to ascertain their *stated* use of such materials. The latter was checked against what actually appeared in the respective papers over a five weeks' period.

In estimating the weekly volume of such materials received, 19 (63.3%)

of the respondents checked amounts ranging from 25 to 50 pieces. Ten (33.3%) checked amounts in excess of 75 pieces; one did not answer; seven believed there to be 100 or more pieces. The latter probably reflects a confusion with the total volume of mail.

The questionnaires reveal that 16 (53.3%) of the editors toss into the wastebasket unopened 75% or more of these releases; 8 (26.6%) treat from 25% to 50% of such material in this manner. Only 5 (16.6%) of the editors open all these communications.

As to whether they use any of these materials regularly, 13 (43.3%) responded negatively. A small group, 5 (16.6%) indicated that they use certain "selected" materials regularly among which are listed the following: releases where local names are involved, soldiers, etc.; such "worthy" causes as U. S. O., Red Cross; Congressman Mundt's releases; County Agent releases. Six (20%) use certain releases "quite regularly" such as: Rationing information, crop reports, state institution stories, OPA, news about soldiers. Only two editors make even "occasional use" of mats and cartoons.

The amount of space available is apparently not important among the stated reasons for using so few of the releases as 20 (66.6%) showed no disposition to use more even if they had more space. Only 5 (16.6%) indicated that space was the deciding factor. Volunteered comments from four (13.3%) revealed the opinion that the

<sup>3</sup> The questionnaires were sent out over the signature of E. T. Trotzig, Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of South Dakota, who has rapport with the editors, hence, no doubt, the high percentage of return.

releases were ill-adapted to local reader-interest.

"What percentage of the materials you receive is in your opinion really advertising and should be paid for at advertising rates?" In response to this question 17 (56.6%) of the editors judged 75% or more of the material to be sheer advertising. Of this group 4 (13.3%) checked 50%; 4 (13.3%) checked 25% and the same number checked 10%. Several voluntary comments were directed to this question typical of which are these: "90% contains an advertising joker," "Most of them are purely bunk or free advertising for national manufacturers and processors," "Most of it is mere space-grabbing for free advertising," "All of it—they pay for every step until it gets to the publisher, writing, typing, paper, mats, mailing, postage, and it is worthless until the publisher uses it. In other words, they pay for every move until the final one, and that is the only one that will do them any good."

In addition to asking for opinions as to the amount of the releases that were advertising and should be paid for, the respondents were asked to give illustrations. The following were among those given: "Recipes with product names hidden," "All car, movie, food, seed, or propaganda of any kind in which promotional material names a saleable commodity or service," ". . . Recent publicity by Wincharger on rural electrification," "Pix pages, some educational stories, airlines, agriculture, government surplus commodities, patterns of various

sorts, pictures and stories from radio stations and schools, . . . and some of the Black Hills proposed UNO Capital stories," "THIS IS AMERICA," "POCKETBOOK OF KNOWLEDGE," "Fisher Body, Jeep dope, some farm unions, some farm bureaus," "Automobile and truck releases, salvage, most of the stuff from colleges, railroads," "Releases about corporation officers doing this and that," ". . . stories about politicians, stories about loan associations . . ." "All releases about new cars, new farm machinery, meat packers, movie stars, and the propaganda sheets regularly issued by the National Association of Manufacturers . . ." "Accident prevention is debatable—insurance companies profit—but there is a general welfare angle," "Gaines Dog Food Feature . . . cotton goods," "National Dairy Council, Skelly Oil."

When asked if they ever get helpful ideas or facts for editorials 9 (30%) said "never;" 14 (46.6%) said "occasionally;" 4 (13%) said "frequently;" and 3 (10%) failed to answer.<sup>4</sup> When commenting on the types most helpful in this regard such remarks were found: "Government releases that show statistics and give information not available to ordinary folks," "College and state associations releases like those of the League of Municipalities," "Those that have a direct bearing on the immediate ter-

<sup>4</sup>The writers are aware that these answers are subject to the usual limitations on all questionnaire responses. For example, one editor who was discovered to be using three canned editorials each week checked "Occasionally."

ritory our paper covers." One editor expressed a somewhat negative use, "The only time I use their ideas for an editorial is when I get mad and blast them."

In response to the request to list their chief criticisms of the form and content of the releases 16 (53.3%) of the editors gave answers that could be classified under "content." Of this group 10 (62.5%) stressed dislike for the attempts to get free advertising while 6 (37.5%) found fault with the lack of concern for local reader interest. The following comments have to do with the alleged attempts at free advertising: "My subscriber doesn't give a damn for the names of the officers and directors of the Swift Packing Co. just because they donate \$4.50 worth of meat to a 4-H banquet and then spend \$9.00 in postage sending a 'News Rush' story to every weekly in the nation;" "If the company putting out the bulletins, etc., would take the cash used in getting out the publications and use it in good, fair newspaper advertising instead of trying to pull something over on the publishers they would receive more for their money spent and certainly promote more good will among their publishers;" "If they didn't contain a bid for free publicity they would not be sent out. Why should we furnish free publicity to the government or any but a charity? We pay the same taxes as others, contribute the same as others, in addition give free publicity to charity or church. Is there really any justification for free publicity? We operate a business, do we not?"

Those editors who felt that the releases lacked adequate concern for local reader interest give such replies as: "For our use not localized enough, which, of course, is understandable;" "No conception of interests of subscribers; outside the field of weeklies; no tie-in with local organizations;" "See no local interest, we are concerned with local news and state news only."

As stated above, some of the criticisms had to do with the form of the releases. On this score 5 (16.6%) of the editors showed dissatisfaction. These are some of the comments: "Most of it is too long, especially government releases;" "News releases should have heads on them. These heads can be remodeled if they don't fit a paper's type schedule, but they show at once what the story is about. Most releases should be much shorter and to the point;" "About 90% of them are too long and too hard to condense down."

In addition, one editor made criticisms of both form and content while two gave replies that could not be classified under either form or content and six made no reply.

A negligible number, 4 (13.3%) of the editors indicated that there was any value in receiving the releases. Nine (30%) answered "little" or "no value," and 9 (30%) gave no response to the question. Several facetious replies were made such as: "Makes a nice fire when we can find the time to watch it burn;" "It helps the postal department;" "Chief value is to the people who have been paid

for their work and service—and that's not the country printer." Those who did specify it as having some value spoke in terms of its being "occasional space filler" or providing "background information."

Twenty-three of the editors (76%) have received no comment from their subscribers on the use of any such materials while 5 (16.6%) have received comment. However, these have had to do with rationing information and men in the service.

When asked if there were any additional releases which they would like to receive 23 (76.6%) of the editors indicated none; 4 (13.3%) specified that they would like to get such materials as "unbiased news from Pierre" (the state capital), "Agricultural releases from Brookings," (State College); "U. S. Department of Agriculture." One editor in commenting on releases from the latter had this to say, "Releases now sent out by the Extension Department through the County Agent's office have the same weakness pertinent to all publicity releases—they fail to get away from routine style of writing, and are cumbersome, being devoted too much to getting publicity for the Extension officials and too little in the gist of the story covered."

#### V. Conclusions

1. The blanket mailing of publicity materials to South Dakota rural weeklies on the assumption that if enough papers are covered with sufficient frequency the results will justify the expenditure seems hardly

tenable in the light of the findings of this study.

2. More than half (53.9%) of the total eighty-nine sources failed to secure a single insertion of their releases in the thirty-seven weeklies examined. In general, the South Dakota weeklies used the remaining materials very sparingly. When this use was investigated it revealed that the weeklies with the largest circulations made the least use of the releases; those with the smallest circulations tended to make the greatest use of them.

3. South Dakota editors show great resistance to publicity materials which they feel are essentially commercial advertising. They reveal no difficulty in detecting hidden advertising "jokers" in the releases. Consequently, many releases are discarded unopened upon the mere recognition of a characteristic envelope.

4. One of the major reasons given by the editors for the meager use of the releases received was the fact that they were poorly adapted to local reader interest and the news policy of the weeklies. The authors' examination of the content of the releases from the eighty-nine sources tends to support this contention.

5. The South Dakota editors do not seem to regard space as an important factor in limiting the use of releases. The authors, however, feel that space is a more important factor than the results of the questionnaire show. The volume of advertising carried by most of the weeklies does not leave

excessive amounts of space for news stories. If the use of WNU materials by twenty-two of the papers in the sample is noted, it is apparent that the sources sending out releases are competing for a very small amount of available space.

6. If the situation among South Dakota weeklies is typical of the rural weeklies in other states, it suggests that the blanket distribution of releases is an ineffective way of reaching an appreciable portion of the readers of rural weeklies.

## Types of Participating Families

*By W. A. Anderson†*

### ABSTRACT

There are three types of participating families, fully-participating, partially-participating, and non-participating.

Two sets of data are presented to support this thesis. The first is the self-ratings of 344 farm families relative to their position in their community as participants in its formal organizations, as participants in informal activities and as leaders in community programs. The second set of data pertain to the actual participation of 1202 farm families as organization officers, committee members, and program participants.

If this hypothesis is substantiated, it has much practical value for extension workers and other rural leaders, for it furnishes a simple tool by which these leaders can identify families as participants.

### RESUMEN

Hay tres tipos de familias participantes: las que participan del todo, las que participan en parte, y las que no participan.

Se presentan dos grupos de datos para soportar esta tesis. El primero es la auto-clasificación de 344 familias rurales sobre su posición en la comunidad como participantes en organizaciones formales, como participantes en actividades más informales, y como líderes en programas de la comunidad. El segundo grupo de datos pertenece a la participación actual de 1202 familias rurales como oficiales de organizaciones, miembros de comités, y participantes en otros programas.

Si esta hipótesis puede ser verificada, tendrá mucho valor para los agentes de trabajos de extensión y para líderes rurales, porque ofrece un modo fácil de identificar las familias que participan.

### There Are Three Types of Participating Families

The thesis of this paper is that families may be classified into three main groupings from the viewpoint

of social participation: fully-participating; partially-participating; and non-participating.

### Two Types of Data Are Used to Establish This View

The data for supporting this thesis are drawn from two sources. The

† Professor of Rural Sociology, Cornell University.

first is the self-ratings of 344 New York farm families with reference to three aspects of their social participation, namely family leadership in community affairs, family participation in community organizations, and family participation in informal activities. In a recent paper I have shown that family social participation is not only the result of the action of community members who are expressing social acceptance or rejection by conferring participation and leadership roles on families, but is also an expression by the families themselves of their respect for and confidence in themselves, which is their own estimate of their social status.<sup>1</sup> These self-rating data are now used to show that these families generally distribute themselves into the three groupings suggested. If this is true, it has important bearing on the practical problem of promoting family social participation.

The second source of data is the actual participation of 1202 farm families who live in the same New York Counties where the self-rating data were obtained and in an additional rural county where a similar type of agriculture prevails, so that all are families from comparable environments.

#### **The Establishment of the Types Comes Directly From the Interrelations of the Ratings**

The self-rating data are the responses of the 344 farm families to the

question, "If you were to divide the families of your community into four groupings in which would you place your family in regard to the following factors: (1) the amount of money available for family living; (2) living comfortably in the home; (3) leadership in community affairs; (4) participation in community organizations; (5) participation in informal activities. Grouping one is the most favorable or has the most; grouping four is the least favorable or has the least."

The method of establishing the types of participating families from these self-ratings is to associate those families who rate themselves similarly in respect to the three participation traits.

#### **These Families Gave Themselves Ratings on Each of the Three Participation Factors**

Each family had the opportunity to place itself in one of four positions relative to each of these participation factors. What actually happened is that 9 per cent rate themselves in the first or top grouping as to participation in formal affairs, 6 per cent rate themselves in this grouping as to community leadership, and 9 per cent rate themselves there as to participation in informal activities. (Table I.) On the other hand, 59 per cent of the families put themselves in grouping four as to participation in formal organization, 69 per cent place themselves in this fourth grouping as to leadership in community affairs, and 26 per cent rate themselves in this position as to participation in informal activities. The remaining propor-

<sup>1</sup> W. A. Anderson, "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-ratings," *American Sociological Review*, XI:3, (June, 1946), pp. 253ff.

tions of the families placed themselves in either position two or position three with regard to each of these participation factors. (Table I.)

**TABLE I. THE SELF-RATINGS OF 344 FARM FAMILIES IN OTSEGO COUNTY, NEW YORK AS TO THEIR POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY RELATIVE TO PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS, LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, AND PARTICIPATION IN INFORMAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES.**

Participation Grouping	Per Cent Rating themselves in		
	Participation in Formal Organization	Leadership in Community Affairs	Participation in Informal Activities
First or top	9	6	9
Second	10	8	29
Third	22	17	36
Fourth or bottom	59	69	26
Total	100	100	100

Less than one in each ten families think of themselves, therefore, as belonging in the top grouping or as being among those who participate most in formal organizations, in informal activities, and in community leadership. On the other hand, about 6 out of each 10 feel that they belong to the grouping who participate least in formal organizations. One in each four put themselves in the same position as to participation in informal activities, while seven out of each ten feel that they are among those who participate least with respect to leadership in community activities. (Table I.)

The remaining families hold that they belong in groupings two or three relative to these factors. Thus 10 per cent and 22 per cent respectively rate themselves in grouping two and three in regard to formal participation; 8 per cent and 17 per cent respectively

rate themselves in these intermediate positions relative to community leadership; while 29 per cent and 36 per cent feel that they belong in this area relative to taking part in informal activity. (Table I.)

#### To Establish "Types" it is Necessary To Show Similarity in the Ratings on Participation Traits

In order to discover from these self-ratings whether there are "types" of participating families, it is necessary to see the extent to which families rate themselves similarly or nearly so with regard to these expressions of participation.

#### The Fully-Participating Families

The self-ratings these families give themselves on the three factors result in nine different rating combinations. (Table II.) Six per cent of the families place themselves in a top combination by rating themselves in grouping one in all three participation characteristics. They consider themselves full participants. Three per cent place themselves in grouping one in formal and informal participation and in grouping two in community leadership. This combination is one step removed in only one of the three characteristics from the top combination. This is practically full participation. Putting the six per cent in the top combination and the three per cent in this second combination together we have nine per cent of the families who rate themselves as the top participators. These we call "fully-participating" families. (Table II.)

### The Partially Participating Families

The next combination including five per cent of the families is rated in grouping two in all three participation factors. This is one step removed in all three characteristics. While the participation of these families is high, according to their own judgment, it is not "full participation" such as is true of those families we have defined as "fully-participating."

Then follows a series of four combinations where 27 per cent of the families rate themselves as belonging in grouping two, three, or four in one and two of the factors. These families are participators but not in full measure. These we put together with those who rate themselves in position two in all characteristics, and describe as the "partially-participating" families. They include 32 per cent of all the families. (Table II.)

It is clear that the extent of participation among the "partially-participating" varies in degree. Those whose rating on all three characteristics is in grouping two participate more than those whose rating is as low as grouping three in formal and informal participation and four in community leadership, while the combinations that lie between these two take part more or less than these two extremes.

### The Least or Non-Participating Families

The next combination includes 33 per cent of all the families. They rate themselves in grouping four, or in the lowest grouping, in formal participation and community leadership and in grouping three in informal participation. They admit that they take part less than other families in community affairs and only slightly in in-

TABLE II. THE PROPORTIONS OF 344 NEW YORK FARM FAMILIES WHO RATE THEMSELVES IN DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS OF GROUPINGS AS TO PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS, LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, AND PARTICIPATION IN INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS.

<i>Participation Rating</i>	<i>Combinations</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Grouping One in;	leadership, formal, and informal participation	6
Grouping One in;	formal and informal participation: Grouping 2, in leadership	3
Grouping Two in;	leadership, formal, and informal participation	5
Grouping Two in;	formal, and informal participation: Grouping 3 in leadership	5
Grouping Two in;	informal: Grouping 3 in formal participation	7
Grouping Three in;	Grouping 4 in leadership	12
Grouping Three in;	leadership, and formal participation: Grouping 2 in informal	3
Grouping Three in;	formal, and informal participation: Grouping 4 in leadership	3
Grouping Four in;	leadership, and formal participation: Grouping 3 in informal	33
Grouping Four in;	leadership, formal, and informal participation	26
<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>

Fully  
Partially  
Least  
or  
Non

formal affairs. Finally, a combination including 26 per cent of the families rate themselves in grouping four in all three participation traits, admitting that they take part less than any other families in all three kinds of participation. We combine these two groupings who participate less than any others. They are only one step removed from each other in one participation trait. These we designate as the "least or non-participating" families.

The characterization of these families from their self-ratings gives us then these three types of participating families that we designate as fully-participating, partially-participating and non-participating families. The "fully-participating" families constitute nine per cent, the "partially-participating" 32 per cent, and the "non-participating" 59 per cent, of all families.

#### The Classification Agrees With Participation Experience

The classification of these families into these three types is the result of logically combining those that are similar in the self-ratings of their participation behavior. It is a mental construct, as are all classifications. It is founded on opinions about extent of participation. If the classification is valid, it should agree with actual participation experience. To show that this is true is our next step.

In our work on social participation we have obtained detailed data on the extent and intensity of individual and family participation in formal and informal activities for over 2,000

families. While obtaining these data, the feeling that there were families who took part in almost every activity in the community and almost at all times, that there were families who were active in some affairs at some of the times, while there were also families who did not take part in any activities, at any time, grew upon us.

In working on the formal participation of 1202 farm families Plambeck<sup>2</sup> and I constructed a table which shows the proportion of these families who had one or more members who were active in community organizations as officers, committee members, or on programs. Families whose members are active in these ways are the truly participating families. They not only belong to organizations and groups, but attend and support them.

Our table shows that 61 per cent of these families had no members who held an organization office, served on a committee, or took part in a program during the previous year. This 61 per cent is comparable to the 59 per cent of the families who rated themselves as belonging in the lowest grouping in formal and informal participation and community leadership and that we designate as non-participating. On the other hand, 11 per cent of these families had several members who were active in all three of these ways. These are comparable to the nine per cent of the families who rate themselves as belonging in the top grouping in leadership and participa-

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Anderson and Hans Plambeck, *The Social Participation of Farm Families*, Cornell University Agr. Exp. Sta. Rur. Soc. Mimeo. Bul. 8 (1943), p. 28.

tion and that we designate as fully-participating. The rest of the families, 38 per cent of all, had one or more members who held an office only, participated in a program only, served on a committee only, or were active in two of these ways. These are comparable to the 32 per cent of the families who rated themselves in our second and third groupings and that we designate as partially-participating. The differences between the proportions that constitute the classes by self-ratings and the proportions who exhibit comparable participation experience are no larger than are to be expected from the probable errors of these percentages.

Our conclusion from these comparisons is that our logically constructed classification portrays actual participation experience and seems, therefore, to be valid.

#### **Self-ratings Can Be Used To Discover Types of Participating Families**

There are, if our thesis is accepted, several generalizations about social participation that suggest themselves. The first is that it is possible to use the self-rating technique to discover what kind of participating group a family is. This would be especially helpful to extension workers, rural ministers, and other local leaders who wish to locate active and non-active families quickly. If it is correct that families can classify themselves accurately in this regard, it may not be necessary to make detailed study of the activities of all the family members to find those who

take part fully, partially, or not at all.

We think this use of the self-rating techniques would be especially helpful if combined with ratings by others. While we are now only in the preliminary stages of analyzing our "other rating" material, we have indications that "self" and "other" ratings are highly correlated. If, therefore, local workers use both self and other ratings on families, they would have a rapid method of classifying their constituency as to participation.

#### **Work with the Partially-Participating Families to Increase Activities and Get New Leadership**

A second suggestion that we present is that increased activity and new leadership can be obtained most successfully by stimulating the partially-participating. The fully-participating do not need encouragement or urging. They know the values they wish to obtain. They take advantage of opportunities to be active and to make contributions without stimulation. In fact they are often so assertive that they dominate and community workers come to rest upon them.

The non-participating must usually be worked with for considerable periods in order to get them to see the values in association, to arouse their interest, and perhaps most important of all, to create in them a self-confidence and self-respect which makes them willing to take part at all.<sup>8</sup> This is a worthwhile, but nevertheless, long and difficult job.

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Anderson, "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-ratings," *American Sociological Review*, XI:3, (June, 1946), pp. 253ff.

The partially-participating are already interested. They know the values of participation. They are waiting for the chance to assume responsible roles. Here the problem is chiefly one of getting leaders to so direct activities that as many as possible can participate. One of the major reasons why there is not more participation is that the potential participants are not used. Dependence is placed on the aggressive few. We are always saying, "We must select the best" participants or leaders. This usually means only the most aggressive persons. There is a large potential for participation and leadership awaiting

ing opportunity in the partially-participating.

#### **Test This Classification in Future Participation Studies**

We do not claim that we have established this classification finally. We are anxious that it be given further testing. We are doing so. We suggest that other rural sociologists who will be studying participation include in their instruments some self and other rating questions. We hope studies will particularly get families to indicate, having adequately defined the terms, whether they consider themselves to be full, partial, or non-participating families.

## NOTES

*Edited By Paul H. Landis*

### FILM-MAKING AS A FOCUS OF SOCIAL FORCES IN AN INDIAN TRIBE

It may be said that any communal undertaking calls into play societal traits inherent in a group. When a people, the Hopi, who have used the same agricultural methods for eleven centuries on the same mesas of northern Arizona, decide to use a medium as new as the sound film to portray their problems, the situation is bound to throw into sharp focus the component social forces.

For five months a fellow sociologist and the author lived on the Hopi reservation in the process of producing a 16 mm. sound film on the status of the modern Indian. Furthermore, this particular undertaking generated such heated reaction that latent stresses and strengths were more quickly discernable than in a situation requiring only observation or universally approved participation.

This project was charged with particular tension because of the Hopi antipathy to being photographed by Whites. On every mesa there are Indian policemen to enforce the warnings to photographers, usually by tearing up film, occasionally by destroying cameras. The source of this antipathy to photography seemed to lie in a mingled fear of ridicule by White audiences, a feeling of spiritual degradation—selling oneself out to pose, the belief that cherished rites and skills will be too easily copied if recorded on film, and a vague fear of loss of *virtu*. Since the Hopi, from tradition, believe themselves to be God's chosen people, they conceive of cultural diffusion only as a disadvantageous process of seeping away and weakening of their own more desirable mores. While twenty years ago the Snake Dance could still be filmed, after some unpleasant incidents the Hopi finally agreed with the Indian Service that no portrayal of religious ceremonies on the mesas would be allowed, although the full cycle of strange colorful

kachina dances goes on almost weekly during six months of the year.

Two complementary forces in delicate balance underlay our future dealings, the autonomy of the individual combined with his deferral to the group. The obvious first step was to get the chief's permission to make educational pictures solely on the daily routine, as distinguished from the ordinary commercial films. To our surprise this permission was rather easily secured, but we soon found it was meaningless without the individual's cooperation. An ancient street in the pueblo might be teeming with activity—an old man carding wool, a woman shelling corn, someone else making piki—we had only to appear with our cameras and the street was deserted. Mothers hissed to their children to come straight in and old women hobbled off to their homes with their full water buckets. Of course, this sort of thing stymied the film because (to paraphrase Alice) what is the use of a motion picture without any motion?

On the other hand, we were soon to learn that real group sanction had to be secured before individuals would cooperate. In these villages where neighbor crowds neighbor in a storied pueblo, the strongest rule of living is that there shall be no secrecy. The doors are open, or if you knock they say, "Come in," never "Wait a minute." It is indeed a serious breach even to attempt to talk privately or make arrangements with individuals apart from the group. Indian Service Administrators incur criticism if they "work with individuals." The Hopi who acceded to the request "Please don't mention this to anyone else" would be regarded as a traitor.

Individuals, therefore, were not free to hire themselves out as film subjects. When in some desperation we proposed to Don, the *Sun Chief*, that we pay him on a footage

basis to let us follow him around and film him at his tasks, he whisked us to a public meeting before the head chief where every detail of the proposal was explained and finally vetoed by this village. Where intellectual explanation, nominal permission and attempts to hire individuals failed, the substitution of an emotion-charged appeal to the group succeeded in overcoming the usual group aversion. The victors tend to forget that force was used against our Indian minority, but living Hopis well remember that troops were called out in 1906 and their houses searched for children of school age. No one thinks of violence now, but there are unreconstructed Rebels on the mesas who hate White government officials. There is a lesser antagonism toward missionaries on the part of the 95 per cent who follow the Hopi way. But a few Whites who are regarded as the champions of Indians against their oppressors are accepted. In this case, in spite of our repeated warnings that we would state what we saw, we were regarded also as champions of the Hopi point of view and thus endowed with an emotion sufficiently strong to offset the qualms of many who had never before been filmed. There was also an element of jealousy of the traditional enemies, the Navaho, who were just assembling a delegation to present their problems before a Congressional committee. However, the area of religious dances and ceremonials was still strictly forbidden.

#### Effective Procedure by Group Action

As soon as the young Hopi Governor of New Oraibi saw that we were not interested in a costume portrayal, but would present the modern Hopi and his problems, he became the official sponsor. His first step was to call a general council of representatives from the nine villages—what amounted to a tribal council. In the course of seven hours of discussion through an interpreter, we disavowed resemblance to any previous photographer, stressed our independent position, and in as simple terms as possible, stated our aims as social scientists and of this film in particular. The upshot was a tenta-

tive assent, later confirmed when the chiefs had a chance to talk the question over with their constituents in stores and kivas on the mesa. Nevertheless, this was by no means well-defined group sponsorship by a whole tribe, for several villages sent no representatives. One vetoed the project and the rest cooperated in various degrees, but enough to secure a fair statement of the facts as far as we could find them.

Actual filming could only go forward by group action also. A committee took us on a conducted tour over much of the reservation, pointing out specific fields, wells, and dams and having us talk with men whose problems they wished to discuss. Almost every subsequent scene was secured with official ceremony. If we wanted a two-second shot of housebuilding, the village Governor himself had to explain the project from the beginning to the builder, and then builder, Governor and photographers made formal statements of their aims in life for an hour before the scene could be taken.

#### Innovators and Traditionalists

Forty years ago the question of compulsory education had pitted progressives against conservatives. In a lesser way, the film drew to its support those with traits like political interest, ability to speak English, those who had traveled or gone to school off the reservation, while opposed or indifferent were the religious leaders, the old people in general, and those who wished to have no truck with the White Man's ways in any guise. One of the villages, Chimopavy, was extremely conservative. There the question of photography was so touchy that Peter, who in preparing to be next chief had to lead a life as blameless as the Child Lama, did not dare give us public assistance, although he had been one of our principal sponsors.

As in other questions, the villages at the foot of the mesas were far more accessible than those on top. A young matron living below the mesa arranged with us to photograph her family of origin living on top. She was profoundly surprised when her own family not only backed out when the time

came, but also a former neighbor roundly called her down in Hopi for bringing us up.

#### Internal Rivalry and Nascent Unity

Although only 3500 Hopis in all live on the three mesas, each mesa has long acted as if it were a separate province. When, because the range was overgrazed, the Government forced the Hopi to reduce their sheep, First and Second Mesa agreed, but Third Mesa held out for a considerable time. First Mesa accepted a grazing district boundary fence, but Third Mesa stubbornly opposed it.

While ancient inter-mesa conflicts over errant cattle and religious differences have lessened, new ones take their places. In its long-range program, for instance, the Government has planned for a new road from the reservation to Winslow 70 miles away, but Second Mesa says it is the logical center for this road, while Oraibi says the road should obviously go out from Third Mesa. Then too, everyone agrees that the Agency location should be shifted, but each village has reasons why it should be near it.

The nine villages are far from unified, even as separate segments. An example is New Oraibi whose 300 villagers are split into many factions. One faction gives allegiance to one of the two claimants to the office of Chief of Hotevilla, six miles away; another follows Chief Tewaquaptewa of Old Oraibi on top of the mesa; another recognizes the nominal Governor; and the rest are indifferent and won't attend village meetings.

Nor is there any recognized leader among the 3500 Hopi comparable to Chee Dodge of the 50,000 Navaho. Most of the village chiefs are good old men, selected for their religious rather than secular attainments. A prime requisite for tribal leadership is fluent command of Hopi and English. Since Indian Service employees are barred from tribal offices by Departmental order, this provision leaves two bilingualists from different villages who have gained a general position of leadership. Unfortunately, they do not always work together. One complained to us that the other had borrowed the correspondence which he had developed with

outside organizations and had answered all the letters, thus neatly diverting the correspondence to another village and himself.

All these inherent stresses came out in the course of producing the film. The conservative villages sent no representatives to meetings. Rival villages pointed out projects that ruined their interests but helped some other village. If one leader sponsored the film the other kept aloof.

The chief symptom of internal disunity was the difficulty of securing a definite statement of what the Hopis did want in the way of a tribal program which could be stated concisely in the film. A short time before, a Congressional committee had invited the Hopis to send a representative to present such a statement at a hearing. The representative conscientiously presented the grievances of each village for the past thirty years while the Navaho representative concentrated on a concise positive program. To encourage a more positive statement for the film, the leaders chose three men, each of whom was to present Hopi wishes in respect to health, the economic situation, and their political disposition, in an open meeting; then, following criticism, was to record his statement for film.

Based on the Hopi Constitution of 1936, the tribal council would be the logical instrument for formulating a tribal program. This council lived briefly, but first, conservative Hotevilla refused to send representatives; then it could not command sufficient support for its decisions and was given the *coup de grace* when the Superintendent withdrew recognition on the score of its not being sufficiently representative.<sup>1</sup> As a legislative body, the tribal council had expired before the last big matter of tribal concern, the sheep reduction and range boundary fencing of December, 1945. However, the general desire to save their sheep and graz-

<sup>1</sup> As the Superintendent said, "It was a privilege that was given to the Hopis, and if they don't care to elect representatives I don't believe it is our responsibility to have them elected."

—Minutes of Special Meeting, Oraibi, Arizona, Nov. 17, 1943.

ing rights was sufficient to weld the tribe into unparalleled unity. Two successful mass meetings were held at which the Hopi presented their views to representatives of Chambers of Commerce of the nearest towns and to the Commissioner's representatives. Here a Hopi, David Taleheftewa, explicitly stated the need for tribal unity:

We all know as a Hopi people that there is different unity among us Hopis. That is the biggest drawback and the biggest detriment to the welfare of us Hopis I know, I have worked with you people a long time. I have tried hard to work toward unity but have not seen it yet. Yet you people know that tradition itself says that it is only through unity that we will be able to accomplish anything worthwhile.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of Open Meeting, Hopi Indian Agency, Nov. 6, 1945, p. 15.

It would seem that unity would have to be fostered and the tribal council revived in the event that tribal properties are leased for development of natural resources like coal.

Thus the process of making a documentary film with the Hopi revealed clearly four modes of social action: (1) the delicate balance between individuality and group control, (2) the effectiveness of group action, (3) the schism between innovators and traditionalists and (4) the present force of intra-tribal dissension with evidence of prospective unity. As the camera lens itself draws into focus the diffuse light rays reflected from the larger reality to record an image in miniature, so the process of film-making focuses on a small scale modes of social action latent in the culture as a whole.

Margaret Cussler.  
Oraibi, Arizona

# CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited By Conrad Taeuber\**

## Population

In a study of 297 families in Lexington, Kentucky in 1942<sup>1</sup> an effort was made to measure the adjustment of rural migrants to urban conditions. The majority of the rural-reared householders and their families were in the middle and two lower rental classes, but the converse was true of urban-reared householders and their families. Some rural-reared migrants on entering the city were in a status below that which they formerly held, but most improved their status after migration. At each of the four income levels used, rural-reared residents showed somewhat lower socio-economic status than did urban-reared residents. The migrants of longest urban residence were more like their urban neighbors for some of the items used than were the newcomers. Rural-reared children of rural-reared migrants seemed in general to hold about the same socio-economic position as that of their parents.

## Settlement

Two reports dealing with settlement on the Vale and Owyhee irrigation projects in Oregon have been issued recently. An earlier report, *New Farms on new land* by Carl P. Heisig and Marion Clawson included an analysis of farm organization, expenses and income of these settlers in 1938. The recent report on the settlers' progress<sup>2</sup> tells of the developments between 1938 and 1944. The project area covered in the study was operated by 1,238 farmers in 1944 and included about 80,000 acres of irrigated land, most

of which had been under irrigation less than 10 years. The study indicates what settlers, with relatively few resources, can accomplish on fairly good land under favorable economic conditions. The report of turn-over among owners and operators on the Projects<sup>3</sup> contains data on the number of farm transfers and number of operator shifts for different sections of the Projects and discusses the economic, social, and personal reasons why some families have left the Projects. It was found that the availability and the wise use of credit were important factors in the stability of settlers. A large part of the family discord, poor health, social isolation, and even the unsatisfactory work habits could be traced to the lack or misuse of credit facilities.

## Farm Labor

Approximately 3½ million persons worked on farms for wages in 1945. At the end of the year 1.6 million were working on farms, 600,000 of them were doing non-farm work and 1,000,000 were not working; most of the latter were housewives or students. This survey on the *employment and wages of the hired farm working force in 1945*<sup>4</sup> was made by the Bureau of the Census to supplement information obtained by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in national enumerative surveys of farm wages and wage rates. "The survey was restricted to persons 14 years of age and over who were in the civilian population of the United States and not in institutions when the survey was conducted in January 1946."

\* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

<sup>1</sup> Catherine P. Heflin and Howard W. Beers. *Urban adjustments of rural migrants*. Ky. Agr. Expt. Station, Bul. 487. 32 pp., Lexington, June, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> Walter U. Fuhriman. *Settlers' progress, Vale-Owyhee project, Oregon*. 82 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Oregon State College, Bur. of Reclamation and Farm Security Admin., Berkeley, Calif., April, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> Walter C. McKain and H. Otto Dahlke. *Turn-over of farm owners and operators, Vale and Owyhee irrigation projects*. 27 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. Berkeley, Calif., June, 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret J. Hagood. *Employment and wages of the hired farm working force in 1945*. 40 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C. June, 1946.

The information was obtained through a sample survey of approximately 25,000 households, farm and nonfarm, with special questions on employment, wages and perquisites for each person who reported having done farm work for wages in 1945. In this report, data on time worked and wages earned have been related to age, sex, veterans' status, residence, and employment status in 1946. Eighteen tables give detailed data on the characteristics of the workers, wages earned and perquisites received.

A recent report in the series on *Wages and wage rates of hired farm workers*<sup>5</sup> gives the change in hourly cash wages of regular and seasonal hired farm workers from early spring to fall in 1945. Data on wage rates obtained for the third week in March and in May 1945, contained in Reports 4 and 7 in this series, were compared with data secured for the third week in September 1945. From March to September, average hourly cash farm wages paid in the United States had increased from 35 cents an hour to 48 cents. Much of this increase was due to the fact that usually higher rates are paid for many fall jobs than for spring work. About twice as many hired workers were employed on farms in September as in March. There were three and a half times as many seasonal workers employed in September as in March. Most of the workers in the South were picking cotton. The number of women workers and the number of workers over 65 years of age increased in the fall. In every region except the South workers who were paid piece rates in September had average hourly earnings higher than those paid by any type of time rate. In every region in the fall, the lowest average hourly cash wages for workers who were not furnished meals were earned by workers paid monthly rates.

<sup>5</sup> Louis J. Ducoff and Barbara B. Reagan. *Wages and wage rates of hired farm workers, United States and major regions. September 1945.* 68 pp. Surveys of wages and wage rates in Agriculture, Rpt. No. 16. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C. July, 1946.

### Rural Health

A second report in the Rural Health Series<sup>6</sup> issued by the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station reports on the findings of a survey of medical and health services secured by 1,544 households in the rural areas of five counties between 1939 and 1942. The survey population used less medical service than comparable urban groups and far less than the amount indicated by professional standards for good medical care. If the entire group were to receive the same amount of medical and dental care received by families having incomes of \$2,000 or over, the total number of practitioner calls in the group surveyed would be increased by 40 per cent, the number of days spent in a general hospital by 155 per cent, and the number of persons using a dentist by 44 per cent. In the survey counties there were more than twice as many persons per physician in 1940 as in 1909. The median age of physicians at the later date was 60 years as compared with 43 years at the earlier period.

### Miscellaneous

The views of Corn Belt farmers on buying and selling land are given in a report on *The land market*.<sup>7</sup> When this survey was made, September 3 to December 15, 1945, about three-fourths of the farmers said that, even if they wanted land and had money to buy with, they would postpone buying. In 1944, 61 per cent of the farmers held this view. About 30 per cent of the farmers said that they were interested in buying land, but only about half of those had definite plans to do so and most of those planned to buy later. Tenant farmers predominated among those who wanted to buy. Fewer farmers were willing to sell land in 1945 than in 1944. They did not see how they could better themselves by selling be-

<sup>6</sup> Harold F. Kaufman. *Use of medical services in rural Missouri.* Rural Health Ser. No. 2. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta., Bul. 400. 54 pp., Columbia, April, 1946.

<sup>7</sup> U. S. Dept. Agr., Bur. Agr. Econ., *The land market.* 42 pp. Washington, D. C. May, 1946.

cause they would want to reinvest in land. About two-thirds of the farmers believed that the government should take steps to prevent such a fall in land values as occurred after World War I.

#### Other Publications Received

- Anderson, Elin L. *The extension service's responsibility in aiding rural people to improve their health and medical services.* 12 pp. Ext. Serv., U. S. Dept. of Agr. Washington, D. C., July, 1946.
- Council on Inter-governmental relations. *Adventure in governmental gearing in Henry County, Indiana.* 48 pp. New Castle, Indiana, 1946.
- Ducoff, Louis J. and Hagood, Margaret J. *Veterans returning to farm work.* 2 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. of Agr., Washington, D. C., 1946.
- Gallien, G. S. *Natural neighborhoods and communities of Wayne County, Tennessee.* Tenn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Mono. 193. 24 pp. Knoxville, 1946.
- Hanger, Michael R. and Metzler, William H. *Farm Wage stabilization in the pacific States.* 16 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., June 1946.
- International Labour Office. *The co-operative movement and present-day problems.* 232 pp. Montreal, Canada, 1945.
- Jasper County Community Council. *Wartime influences on Jasper County, Illinois.* 32 pp. In cooperation with the Univ. of Ill. and Bur. of Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., April, 1946.
- Johnson, Sherman E. *Changes in farming in war and peace.* 99 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., June, 1946.
- Kirkpatrick, E. L. and others. *Whither, rural youth?* 30 pp. Ext. Serv., U. S. Dept. Agr. and Dept. of Rur. Education, Nat. Education Assn., Washington, D. C. July 1946.
- Metzler, William H. *Wages and wage rates of seasonal farm workers in USDA labor supply centers at Arvin, Woodville, and Firebaugh, California, November, 1945.* 18 pp. Surveys of wages and wage rates in agriculture Rpt. No. 13. Bur. of Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., May, 1946.
- Stepp, J. M. and Phillips, S. F., Jr. *The economic outlook in Sumter, South Carolina.* S. C. Agr. Expt. Sta., Bul. 365. 29 pp. Clemson, May, 1946.
- U. S. Dept. of Agr., Bur. of Agr. Econ. *Farm population estimates, United States and major geographic divisions 1910-1946.* 18 pp. Washington, D. C. June, 1946.
- U. S. Dept. of Agr. Ext. Serv. *Report of extension evaluation workshop.* 100 pp. The Cooperative Extension Service in collaboration with the University of Chicago. Washington, D. C., 1946.
- U. S. Dept. of Labor. Interagency Committee on Youth and Education. *Your community and its young people.* 31 pp. Children's Bur. Pub. 316., Washington, D. C., 1946.
- War Relocation Authority. *Annotated bibliography of the community analysis section.* Part VI. Washington Community Analysis Section Reports. 26 pp. Rpt. No. 19. Washington, D. C., June 30, 1946.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Edited By Howard W. Beers*

*Agriculture in an Unstable Economy.* By Theodore W. Schultz. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xix + 299. \$2.75.

This small volume is a significant and important book dealing with problems of statesmanship, full of challenging ideas and suggestions. It considers one of the central issues in American economic and social policy for the coming years: the nation's agricultural policy and a strategy for tackling it. Put out as the sixth research study of the Committee for Economic Development, it endeavors to contribute to a better understanding of the "problems that have their origin in the interrelationships between agriculture and the rest of the economy" and "to lay the foundations for a national policy with regard to agriculture." Thus this book contains a platform for political action having the core of a comprehensive program on vital national economic and social affairs. The author's factual analysis serves as the major orientation and builds a case for the sort of legislative and administrative action which he recommends. It is a bold book by an economist whose close contact with legislators, administrators, and farm leaders keeps him keenly aware of the need for a more rational appraisal of the real problems that beset the farm population, and of the need for a sound and constructive national policy in regard to agriculture. In fact, it is perhaps the most challenging and valuable condensation of the professional discussion of the great issues of agricultural policy in the United States to have appeared since John D. Black wrote his *Agricultural Reform in the United States* in 1929, a long list of books and articles on various phases of the subject by many authors notwithstanding.

Treating a highly controversial set of questions of the upmost complexity, confining himself to brevity, and addressing a broad public, Professor Schultz has painted

the economic background with the keen strokes of a broad brush, often ignoring inaccuracy in details or complete modifications.

In the brief space available, it is impossible to try to do justice to so important and timely a book dealing on so high a level of statecraft with some of the vital questions facing the free economy. No more than a few of the major lines of argument can be briefly sketched.

Professor Schultz examines the causes of the low earnings of a majority of farm people and the great instability of income from farming, tracing them to conditions prevailing in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy. In Part I the wartime changes in agriculture are reviewed and the probable conditions affecting agriculture are outlined. Advanced agricultural efficiency, a reduction of the farm population, and an improved financial position of farmers are listed as major gains. The expanded production of wheat, fats and oils, and of cotton, and other shifts in commodity fields that will become maladjustments in years of peace, and the need of converting the Cotton South are presented as the main liabilities.

Part II discusses the phenomenon that the supply of agricultural products in the United States and its population growth tend to expand more rapidly than the demand, causing a depression of farm income and a constant excess supply of labor. In the author's view, when the postwar relief-period boom in agriculture has passed, American agriculture can be fairly prosperous for decades, even with a 2 per cent annual rate of increment in output, provided that the output in the non-agricultural sector of the economy expands at the brisk rate of four to six per cent per annum. Such a rate of increase in industrial output would absorb most of agriculture's excess labor force.

The effect of the much more violent fluctuations in industrial production upon the

earnings of agriculture, whose output is more stable, and the prospects for foreign trade in agricultural products after the war are briefly analyzed. The author's speculations about the future emphasize the prospect of recurrent chronic commodity surpluses unless policies to prevent or diminish them are executed.

Part III surveys the present system of agricultural controls as an institution complementing the system of private enterprise in American agriculture and their varying degree of effectiveness. Professor Schultz and his associates proved in earlier years how ineffective were the AAA acreage restrictions.

Part IV sets forth in four chapters Professor Schultz's outline of an agricultural policy for reducing under-employment and improving low earnings in agriculture, diminishing the instability of farm income, and facilitating adjustments in production through administered changes in price relationships and by price supports. The highlights of the charted course are:

1. national economic policies which will expand the non-agricultural sectors of the economy and thereby drain the excess labor from farming, with simultaneous assistance to the movement of people from farms to other occupational areas, and discouragement of the movement of people from the city to the farm.

2. efforts to lessen the instability of farm income as caused by fluctuations in crop yields, which should include public aid for improved farm technology, crop insurance, and storage of feed grain to mitigate the cyclical fluctuation of livestock production.

3. stabilization of demand for farm products by high employment and high production policies in the urban economy, and counter-cyclical compensatory payments to farmers.

4. various aids to better adjustment of agriculture to the market, such as: soil conservation policies, storage of some crops, enlargement of small family farms, improvement in farm tenure,

better farming practices, and special adjustment aids for depressed areas.

5. stabilization of the general price level and the establishment of "forward prices," i.e., "prices which will achieve the desired output" and which are announced far enough in advance and which cover at least one production period.

The scope of the recommendations, and the brevity of their exposition are such that aside from a general orientation, the reader observes chiefly the bones of the policy proposed, while often even the basic detail to fill in the framework is missing. Economists will voice a great many complaints about the absence of specific elaborations as to the measures and their execution, as well as the author's reasons for believing that some measures, such as the intricate machinery of planning forward price relations, are politically, administratively, and economically feasible.

Yet the weaknesses of the book are closely related to its great merit and strength: if it were as fully matured in presentation and as explicit and complete in detail as the professional reader might prefer, either it would not have been written at all or, if written, it would not be the readable book for general public consumption that it is.

The book is a timely and most valuable contribution to the discussion of the core of contemporary problems concerned with American agricultural policy. It is bound to stir a great deal of critical discussion and to force a clarification of the complex difficulties involved in various measures suggested by Professor Schultz, as well as controversial debate over the relative merits of alternative courses. Since this is a book about the very live issue of political action, critics cannot simply point out weaknesses but will have to shoulder as well the implicit burden of writing books proposing better alternatives. If they do, a part of the credit will still be due Professor Schultz and his school of economic thought. There are never enough books of this kind.

Food Research Institute KARL BRANDT.  
Stanford University.

*USDA, Manager of American Agriculture.*

By Ferdie Deering. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. Pp. xvi + 213. \$2.50.

The book is essentially an attempt to demonstrate that the USDA is a collection of bureaus thrown together haphazardly with resulting duplication, overlapping, and confusion. It also makes a few suggestions concerning possible reorganization for more efficient service.

Chapter I is entitled, "When to Sow and When to Reap." This traces through the experience of World War II when there existed essentially two Departments of Agriculture without functions clearly defined. The author commends the earnest efforts of Secretary Anderson in attempting to reorganize the department but claims that he made the same mistakes as all his predecessors in attempting merely to "reshuffle and rearrange existing bureaus, continuing the same officeholders and lines of influence in the USDA that existed previously." (p. 22)

Chapter II, "Streamlined Duplication," asserts that "because of overlapping of authority and functions and the multiplicity of division and subdivisions, a complete diagram would be virtually impossible without bringing into use a third and possibly a fourth dimension." (p. 42)

Chapter III is called, "He Who Holds the Pocketbook." The tone of this chapter is reflected on the first page. "Generally, the benefits of government agricultural funds are available to farmers only if they comply with certain regulations prescribed by Washington. This may be necessary, but it must be admitted that it also leads towards the federal government's telling farmers what they can and cannot do. It leads more and more to national regimentation of agriculture. It opens the way for power-hungry public officials to collect a toll of freedom for every dollar they hand the farmers . . ." (p. 50).

Chapter IV is entitled, "The Needle and the Haystack." Chapter V is, "The Number One Problem." Mr. Deering thinks the most important problem is soil erosion. He thinks a great deal has been accomplished in this

field but that "because soil conservation has caught the public fancy, however, the USDA has outdone itself in confusion, as every bureau has tried to get on what appears to be a popular bandwagon. In no other field of its work does the USDA exhibit so much inefficiency because more than one agency tries to do the same job, in rivalry and competition with other bureaus. Again, to the farmer, the USDA's setup to help him with soil conservation looms as a monstrosity that is discouraging in its complexity."

Chapters then follow on "Famine of Plenty," "Uncle Sam, the Farmers' Banker," "Scientific Policemen," "Special Services for Particular Needs," "Education and Information," "The New USDA," and "Tomorrow's Agriculture."

The remedy prescribed is to reorganize the entire USDA in accordance with the following objectives: "(1) retain the desirable and useful functions of all bureaus and agencies; (2) organize these bureaus and agencies in a single department of agriculture; (3) route their operations to farmers in accordance with democratic principles; (4) organize the county and field units to operate as a team." (p. 187). In order to do this, Mr. Deering would first take an inventory of all the essential functions. He would then abolish all bureaus and reorganize the functions into three main divisions: "(1) the Research Division, whose job would be to seek information needed by agriculture in all of its fields and phases; (2) the Administrative Division, whose work would be to carry on the staff administration on one hand and the administration of agricultural laws assigned to the department on the other; and (3) the Educational and Informational Division, whose responsibility would be to carry on educational activities of the USDA and to disseminate information of all kinds in an orderly and efficient manner." (p. 189).

Much of what the author says in this book is valid and is in line with the usual criticisms of government bureaucracy and bureaucrats. There appears to be an underlying assumption throughout the work that

the USDA is designed to function as a service agency for farmers and that farmers should have the deciding voice as to how it should be organized and what it should do. One might take issue with this basic assumption. While most of the work is concerned with agriculture and the problems of farmers, should not these be considered from the standpoint of the *national* welfare rather than the welfare of any special group?

NATHAN L. WHETTEN.

University of Connecticut.

*From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* By H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 490. \$5.00.

It would be safe to wager that many more American social scientists are aware of the importance of Max Weber than have ever read any of his works. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills' recent book, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, removes the language barrier which has stood in the way of first-hand acquaintance on the part of some. Also, this much-needed translation brings together within one volume a careful selection of Weber's best and most representative writings from scattered and inaccessible sources. Parsons, Abel, and others in this country have called attention to the importance of Max Weber for sociological theory, and during the last two decades his influence has been widely felt in sociology as well as in the other social sciences. Despite the fact that he is now recognized as one of the foremost European sociologists, he has been neglected by translators much more than contemporaries of no greater stature such as, for example, Durkheim and Pareto.

Gerth and Mills have performed a highly useful service, therefore, in undertaking this translation from the German. Yet they have gone beyond merely accomplishing a task in linguistics. In addition to doing carefully a difficult job of translation, they have done an intelligent job of editing and culling from the whole range of Weber's writings of a lifetime.

The book contains a seventy-four page critical introduction, "The Man and His Work," which is a valuable addition to available commentaries on Weber, in part utilizing Marianne Weber's biography of her husband (*Max Weber: ein Lebensbild*) and Weber's own *Jugendbriefe*. This introduction yields much insight into his life, political concerns, and intellectual orientations. The four main sections of the text itself are "Science and Politics," "Power," "Religion," and "Social Structures." Some of the materials presented are complete essays, whereas others are extensive excerpts fitted together in a topical order.

In the brief compass of a review it is impossible to indicate to anyone not acquainted with Weber, his insight, range of interest, and erudition in history, political science, economics, and philosophy as well as sociology, but the selections themselves cannot fail to leave this impression. Weber's penetrative analyses are still fresh, suggestive, and applicable to many current situations.

Although it is difficult to choose, perhaps his best analyses are those of religion, or at least it is in this sphere that his superiority to most sociological thinkers is most clearly apparent. Here he is most subtly incisive and presents the conflict between science and religion with no weaseling, as is so common.

Despite Gerth and Mills' efforts to render Weber as readable as possible, his style (from the American and English viewpoints) is on the whole rambling, involved, and tedious. His thinking is often over generalized, lacking in particulars, and a little too professorial in tone. But at times he can be succinct, as is illustrated by the following passage:

"The old economic order asked: How can I give, on this piece of land, work and sustenance to the greatest possible number of men? Capitalism asks: From this given piece of land how can I produce as many crops as possible for the market with as few men as possible? From the technical economic point of view of capitalism, the old rural settle-

ments of the country are, therefore, considered overpopulated. Capitalism extracts produce from the land, from the mines, foundries, and machine industries. The thousands of years of the past struggle against the invasion of the capitalistic spirit." (Page 367)

Although Weber is prone to arm-chair philosophizing and offhand observation, it is always of an erudite, not-too-obvious variety. His observations invariably show keen perception, and his generalizations a high level of abstraction. All in all, these essays serve to acquaint the reader with an outstanding intellect and one which will doubtless continue to exert a profound influence for a long time to come in the social sciences.

This volume is not easy reading, but the reader will be repaid for the effort in going through it, and will doubtless agree that Messrs. Wright and Mills are to be thanked for rendering these essays into English.

LOGAN WILSON.

Tulane University.

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*Beyond Supply and Demand.* By John S. Gambs. New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp 105. \$1.60.

Mr. Gambs' little book on Veblen and his followers should be of considerable interest to students and researchers in sociology. It differs in purpose and orientation from previous studies of Veblen and essays on institutional economics. Its ninety pages comprise a search for seeds of truth that might be cultivated to yield new theoretical foundations for economic understanding and thus, he hopes, for guideposts by which man may in some measure determine his own social-economic fate.

Chapter I presents the most important general principles underlying the work of Veblen and that of his followers. The unifying theme, according to Mr. Gambs, is an "unrecognized premise rather than an overtly acknowledged principle;" and that premise "is one of coercion in economic affairs." The chief corollaries of the "doctrine of coercion" as developed by Veblen and supported in various degrees by his fol-

lowers are then discussed. Mr. Gambs lists the following: (1) Denial of the automatic organization of our economic system; (2) A complex conception of the role of "money" in a pecuniary culture in which it serves not only the functions recognized by standard theory but in addition as a key weapon of "attenuated economic coercion;" (3) A distinction between "pecuniary" and "industrial" employments, between the "making" of money and the making of goods or supplying of services of direct social benefit; (4) Emphasis on the evolutionary or "institutional" approach to the understanding of economic life. If Mr. Gambs were himself to provide the writing-over of Veblen that he advocates, the "doctrine of coercion" and its corollaries would without doubt supply the central theme and structural core of his work.

The second basic principle of Veblen's institutionalism as analyzed by Mr. Gambs is what he terms the "doctrine of organic unity," involving both a conception of the nature of society and of methodology in social science. This theme is developed at some length in the third chapter, on methodology, where it is argued that the most basic elements in Veblen's approach are close kin to the Gestalt concept of psychology as applied to the society. The exposition of the Gestalt approach, or "organismic theory," is taken frankly from J. F. Brown's *Psychology and the Social Order*. Although Gambs' discussions of methodology are neither original nor profound, he is at least partially successful in his attempt to outline a modernized methodological framework for a neo-Veblenian theoretical economics. Persons less devoted to Veblen may criticise the author's strained efforts to defend Veblen's methodology; but they cannot fairly deny that Mr. Gambs has presented a sane and reasonable summary of some basic methodological issues facing social scientists today. A far more extensive and penetrating analysis would be required to carry conviction as to the practical value of the methodological ideals set forth.

The psychological foundations of economic analysis and methodology in the "in-

stitutional" tradition constitute the subject matter of another chapter. Here Mr. Gambs starts out by accepting as his basic tenets two "institutional" arguments, that (1) all economists use psychology whether they wish to or not, and (2) this is of necessity the case. He centers his discussion of Veblen's psychology on an interesting analysis of the similarities between Veblen and Freud. This theme is pursued in the discussion of Veblen's opposition of constructive and destructive tendencies (associated in his writings with the dichotomy of industrial and pecuniary activities), and in the discussion of the tendency of the "instinct of workmanship" to contaminate itself and evolve from a constructive instinct into a perverted, inhibiting, and aggressive one. It is evident that Mr. Gambs greatly admires Veblen's capacity to synthesize his psychological and his economic theories, even though he severely criticizes Veblen's belief that "the machine is competent to eradicate aggressive or animistic tendencies." From his analysis Mr. Gambs draws the conclusion that in economic policy as in psycho-therapy it may be possible *by induction* to organize life around the constructive tendencies and to sublimate the aggressive or coercive ones.

The treatment of followers of Veblen is less favorable than the analysis of Veblen himself, despite the fact that Mr. Gambs is quick to discard the chaff in his search for the true grain of Veblen's work. The neo-Veblenians are regarded primarily as artisans, providing essential day-to-day services in the administration of an economy but contributing nothing to the development of a theoretical framework of economic thought. This sterility he attributes basically to the lack of any "consciously-made philosophical assumptions." Out of pragmatism and philosophical evasion has come the assumption "that naive induction, eclecticism, empiricism, pragmatism, sacred or profane, can be fruitful." With such a point of view Mr. Gambs is in sharp disagreement. He goes on to argue that the lack of an adequate philosophy explains the haziness of the neo-Veblenian psychology and its inadequacy as

a foundation for creative economic thought.

What then can the modern economist do? The artisan may stay at his job, but the master economist "must . . . view his mystery from a higher ground." This requires "frank dealing with the subject of aggression." It requires that the economist familiarize himself with psychology and prepare himself to be original in psychology where necessary. Veblen should be re-written "with the benefits of contemporary insights and vocabulary." A new comprehensive treatise on money should be written, incorporating discussion of money as a weapon of coercion. All of these are but preliminary and minor steps, however. What Mr. Gambs would really have us do is to reach out for the "global scope and the thought-boldness of the geopolitical thinkers." And finally:

Somewhere along the road the economist will have to think about final goals —about his utopia, in short, and how to get there. Do we creep up on utopia by slow painful steps, or do we make salutary progress? Do we need to burst a Gestalt before we can make appreciable changes in it? Can we rely on changing institutions to change human nature, or must man first be changed or must both processes go along together? Does the moral basis of the good society precede the institutional? Is general, mutual and reciprocal coercion the chief obstacle to abundant economic productivity and the achievement of better levels of living for all?

Mr. Gambs' little book is speaking primarily to his economist colleagues, but much of it might have been directed with equal relevance to sociologists. Sociologists are probably more aware than most economists of the difficulties of theoretical insights into the functioning of a society approached on the Gestalt basis. When the scope of a field is so broadly and so "globally" defined, it is easy to fall into the pitfall of sweeping "hypothetico-deductive" generalization on the one hand or disjointed pragmatism on the other. But this global approach immediately calls for the close integration of

sociological and economic research. *Beyond Supply and Demand* throws out a challenge that sociologists can ill afford to ignore.

MARY JEAN BOWMAN  
Lexington, Kentucky.

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*Warriors Without Weapons.* By Gordon MacGregor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. 228. \$3.75.

This is a study of a group of Teton-Dakota Indians living on the Pine Ridge Reservation, in South Dakota. The history of these people has been a series of adjustments to new environments and culture patterns. Two and a half centuries ago they moved from the woodlands into the plains and developed a buffalo-hunting culture. Hardly had they taken to this way of life before the white man came, encroaching upon their territory and food supply, and precipitating a struggle which ended with their being forced to adopt reservation life.

The destruction of the buffalo dealt a deathblow to Plains Indian culture, but the present predicament of the Pine Ridge Dakota is not the direct result of this episode. By the first decade of the present century they had developed a new and satisfactory way of life, centered in a cattle economy. With the beginning of World War I, cattle prices soared, and pressure was put upon the Indians to sell their herds and lease their lands. The full effect of this policy was not immediately felt, but in time it was apparent that for a second time the basis of their economy and the foundations on which their society rested had been swept from beneath them. The occupation of the men, who had been the keystone of the Dakota cultural structure, vanished. Demoralization of the people spread to all their social institutions. By 1924 the government became alarmed over the Indians' failing will to live.

The special interest of this study has been the effect of these cultural changes and the present social conditions upon the Dakota. In order to determine the nature of the Indian personality, 200 children were selected at random. Information about them was

obtained through tests and interviews with the children themselves, their parents, their teachers, and other persons in their communities. Part I of the book describes Sioux society in the past and at the present, giving the historical and economic basis of society on the reservation today, the values and attitudes which characterized the earlier culture, and those which it has retained or acquired more recently. Part II describes how the Sioux child grows up. Part III presents case studies of ten Dakota children. Conclusions follow in Part IV.

Government programs have as their ultimate aim the welfare of the Indian, but the author feels that their focus has too frequently been on the more concrete goals of material improvements. The fundamental need of the Pine Ridge Dakota today is a way of life which will give them personal security and an opportunity for creative development. They need to gain self-confidence and freedom from fear. They need greater self-direction to permit the regeneration of their society. The development of a cattle economy and community councils for local self-government offer logical approaches to these goals, and in at least one community a well-rounded program is already working successfully.

The significance of this book lies not only in its bearing on the Indian problem in the United States but in its implications regarding problems of assimilation, culture conflict and personality development throughout the world.

BREWTON BERRY  
Ohio State University.

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*The Common Sense of the Exact Sciences.*  
By William Kingdon Clifford. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946. Pp. lxvi + 249. \$4.00.

Many books are appearing currently which endeavor to present the ideas of mathematics in a simple manner to the layman. The reissuing of Clifford's work after 60 years makes again available to the public one of the early and masterly elementary expositions of the basic notions of algebra and

geometry. Clifford sounds remarkably contemporary in his treatment of these topics. He shows how the concept of number arises and how its properties are determined, generalizing this to more abstract algebra and indeed leading ultimately to vector algebra. His treatment of geometry is not in the spirit of Euclid, but rather from the more intuitive point of view of modern topology, including a discussion of the curvature of space that is so prominent in parts of modern physics.

The editor of the original edition, Karl Pearson, performed the service not only of assembling the book after Clifford's death, but also of writing the final chapter on motion. The editor of the present edition is James R. Newman, who has written an excellent introduction that summarizes Clifford's views on scientific method.

Perhaps the hardest thing for a sociologist to appreciate about mathematics is how it is necessarily involved in his own work. The traditional kind of drill we receive in school leaves us with a queer idea about the nature of mathematics. Actually, we learn far less about the essence of mathematics from our school routines than we learn about the nature of a typewriter by punching its keys. Clifford does not emphasize the fact, as would many moderns, that mathematics is a branch of logic and deals with non-numerical things as well as with numerical ones. Any kind of rigorous inference of necessity is mathematical thinking. Since he devotes himself primarily to illustrations from physics, this generality may not be apparent from Clifford's treatment. The careful and laborious thinking needed to arrive at the general notion of a real number (which Clifford calls a "quantity") is somewhat illustrative of the thinking used more generally in the modern theory of abstract spaces. The word "space" in modern mathematics does not necessarily imply any metric, nor even anything about quantity or dimension; it is simply any set of objects. It is the *relationships* between the objects that determine what kind of a space the objects are. Some day perhaps, when sociology has reached a state of greater rigor,

we shall have books appearing expounding the basic ideas of mathematics, employing examples from sociological kinds of space.

LOUIS GUTTMAN.  
Cornell University.

*The Population of the Soviet Union.* By Frank Lorimer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xiv + 289. \$4.00.

This volume by the President of the Population Association of America is one of a series in preparation for the League of Nations by the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. It is a work of distinction. Using critically the materials of Russian censuses and the studies of scholars, mainly Russian, the author has presented the best statistical data available. To say that he has compiled and arranged them so as to answer a great many of the questions about the population of the Soviet Union that American students of population and history will be impelled naturally to ask is perhaps a good way to characterize the study in brief.

Three censuses provide the bench-marks of this study: the Russian Imperial Census of 1897, the First All-Union Census of 1926, and the Census of 1939. But Lorimer reaches back to 1725 at the death of Peter the Great, when only about 20 million people inhabited European Russia, for his first point of reference. From that he traces growth to the estimated population of 189 million in the U. S. S. R. in 1945, and projects his estimates forward to a hypothetical population of 251 million in 1970. The estimated net reproduction rate in 1938 was 154.

Rural sociologists will find particular interest in the detailed examination of the rapid changes in the rural population which took place between 1926 and 1939. Although the rural population of the U. S. S. R. sustained an absolute decrease of 5 per cent, some rural areas showed very rapid increase. Some eight republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia showed increases of 19 to 36 per cent, and in Europe three

areas—the North Caucasus, Crimea, and Karelia-Murmansk—showed increases of 5, 41, and 64 per cent, respectively. Since the area of cultivated land was increasing rapidly while the rural population was declining, the ratio of rural population to sown land declined by about 22 per cent in a dozen years.

Numbers of the population, age, sex, ethnic, and occupational composition, geographical distribution, literacy, and migration, all are dealt with. The period, 1926-1939, which receives the fullest treatment, has special significance "as the initial phases of dynamic trends that are likely to be projected, with modifications, far into the future." The trends in level of employment in 1939 relative to 1930: manufacturing and mining, 214; non-railway transportation, 358; trade and credit, 256; communication, 211; education, 285; and health services, 266; are regarded by the author as undoubtedly "the most remarkable expansion of mechanical, technical, and administrative activity ever achieved in any nation in so short a time."

Population policies of the U. S. S. R. are described, including the earlier policy of freely permitted abortions, the effects of which are set down, and the present strong encouragement of public subsidies for children. Maps are good and the numerous tables are well-arranged. Lorimer's appreciation and clear treatment of cultural and political factors, of changing policies and technologies, is as fine as it is unusual in demographic studies. By this quality the volume is raised above the level of a competent technician's work, to a place in the field of general scholarship where it will be drawn upon by scholars of many disciplines.

PAUL S. TAYLOR.

University of California.

*The Peoples of the Soviet Union.* By Corliss Lamont. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. Pp. viii + 229. \$3.00.

In this recent handbook on Soviet domestic affairs, Mr. Lamont attempts "to present an over-all picture of the Soviet peo-

ples in general and the concrete functioning of the unique Soviet minorities policy." (vii) About three-quarters of the book is devoted to the first, and the remaining quarter treats questions of policy. Most of the whole is descriptive and general. Only in the last sixty pages does Mr. Lamont analyze Soviet policy and discuss some of the implications of "ethnic democracy."

Despite long and close acquaintance with his subject, the author appears to have lost his zest. For how else could one account for the dull and insipid tone of the whole work? The three chapters on the various peoples of the Soviet Union, for example, read like a two-tone travelogue. Whatever action is evident is to be found in the excellent photographs which accompany the text. Even the adequate maps provide a welcome relief from the monotony of the prose. Because of the wealth of the material at hand, Mr. Lamont could hardly escape the charge of superficiality in so brief a treatment. Yet he should not be forgiven for the flatness and the lack of color and flavor in describing ways of living and forms of life which we know to be rich and varied. Mr. Lamont's facts are, of course, up-to-date and officially correct. His attitudes are, as is widely known, sympathetic and friendly. Nevertheless, one must conclude that he has not done his subject justice.

Of greater significance, however, is this question of "ethnic democracy." Basing their official policies on the sociological premise that there are neither inherently superior nor inherently inferior groups, the Soviet leaders have tried to make real "equality of opportunity for all nationalities in the U. S. S. R." (p. 207) Mr. Lamont describes at length their work in the development of language, in the reduction of illiteracy, and in the cultivation of the arts. The diverse nationalities of the Soviet Union are encouraged to develop their own native traditions; cultural pluralism attended by tolerance is a matter of state policy. But the very state that grants—and stimulates, obviously—"ethnic democracy" sets a smothering burden upon it.

For "literature, art, drama, journalism, science, and other expressions of culture are free to develop in the native languages and national forms, but they must stay within the broad circle of fundamental Marxist principles in what they say. And they are subject to the general controls of Communist dictatorship and censorship in effect throughout the Soviet Union." (p. 181) Is this group or ethnic democracy real? Indeed, is there any democracy short of that based on the freedom of equal persons?

JOHN C. HUTCHINSON, JR.  
New Jersey State Teachers College.

*Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe.* By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 299. \$3.00.

Dr. Moore has executed with commendable skill and thoroughness this second study in the series being prepared for the League of Nations by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University. The first study, *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union*, by Frank W. Notestein and others, had as a major contribution population projections to 1970. The second study is addressed primarily to "the problems which present themselves in countries with rapidly increasing populations." The area of investigation in this study is restricted to eastern and southeastern Europe, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. These countries had a total population in 1938 of approximately 186 million persons.

Because the economics of eastern and southeastern European countries are primarily agrarian, most of the study is devoted to an examination and analysis of the conditions of agricultural production and prospective economic development through improvements in agriculture and industrialization. The relation of population to resources is examined "especially with reference to 'surplus' rural population, the institutional and technological features of

agricultural production, and some of the broader implications of inefficient agricultural organization." The two concluding chapters deal with possible changes in the demographic and economic situation, with particular attention to commercial and industrial development and to the political and institutional preconditions for such changes.

With incisiveness and realism the author examines the basic problems of an unfavorable population-product ratio and the limited extent of improvement possible through more strictly agrarian measures. He is equally realistic in his appraisal of the conditions limiting the effectiveness of solution by demographic means such as emigration. The author points to the advantages to agricultural economies of extensive and fairly rapid industrialization, while recognizing that it will not solve all of Eastern and Southern European problems and will raise some new problems.

The excellence of this contribution lies not only in the analysis and interpretation given in the text, but also in four appendices which make up half of the book. One of particular interest and value to students of international agricultural problems is a 64-page survey of land tenure and agricultural labor systems in Eastern and Southern Europe.

LOUIS J. DUCOFF.  
Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Fundamentals of Social Science.* Edited by Francis E. Merrill. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1946. Pp. xvii + 660. \$3.75.

Attempts to integrate the subject matter of different specialities into an introductory college course have met with varying degrees of success. At Dartmouth College social science survey courses have been offered for some twenty-five years. Prepared by five teachers of Dartmouth, *Fundamentals of Social Science* has by and large incorporated the subject matter presented in these courses. While written as a one-semester introductory text to the social sciences, it

may readily be adapted for use in a one year course.

The material is presented in eight parts: Social Organization and the Family, Population and Race Problems, Crime and the Criminal, Business and Government, Price and Credit Institutions, Public Finance, Labor and Economic Insecurity, Government and Politics in a Democracy. Organized in a fairly logical sequence, the subject matter is developed as a study of institutions in a context of social change.

A creditable editing job has been done. The few errors noted were minor, e.g., that the railroad brotherhoods are independent unions. (Actually, many are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor).

The concept of industrial efficiency requires modification. "As tested by the amount of production, manufacturing has apparently been becoming more efficient." . . . "During World War II, the productive plant of the United States reached its highest point of productive efficiency." Amount of production, without reference to volume of employment or plant capacity, can hardly be construed as a criterion of industrial efficiency. Such evidence as is available seems to point to a possible decrease of productivity per man-hour in manufacturing during World War II.

The statement that "agricultural production has increased at almost the same rate as population since the demand for agricultural products is relatively stable," seemingly connotes a rigidity of the human stomach that was belied by wartime experience in which the demand for food rapidly increased with the rise in the incomes of urban people. In the 1935-36 Consumer Purchases Study it was shown that families with annual incomes below \$500 consumed little more than 1,000 pounds of food per person. Families with incomes of \$5,000 and more per year consumed more than a ton of food per person. The implications of these facts can hardly be ignored.

The authors are to be commended for having achieved a coordination of the subject matter of the social sciences, and for having

woven it into a well written, highly readable text.

MILTON ROSSOFF.  
Production and Marketing  
Administration.

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*Cities are Abnormal.* Edited by Elmer T. Peterson. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1946. Pp. xvi + 263. \$3.00.

Peterson advances the thesis that cities are abnormal and that a program of their decentralization is urgently needed. "From almost every angle that we view urban life in America, the decentralization of cities seems desirable—public health, economic betterment, economic logistics, moral welfare, better local utilization of natural resources, better distribution of manufactured products, a better conceived military defense, a more rational architecture, and, in general, a happier adaptation to the changing mores." (P. 11)

To Sears, the population of the United States has reached a stage of ecological imbalance which can be rectified by decentralizing cities. Thompson states that values in urban centers are so much out of focus, cities reproduce only three-fourths enough children to maintain a static population. Vogt points out numerous opportunities for starting new industries in unindustrialized sections, especially in the South and West. Forman argues that biological and mental well-being demands that people live in a non-urban setting. Kamphoefer warns that architects must make about face and develop a functional approach to planning. Rhyne contends that man's social needs can only be satisfied in a rural-farm or village setting. McConahey advocates that a balance be achieved between a "land-use" and a "dollar-income" economy. Nixon develops the notion that a highly centralized form of government, which partly results from urbanism, exists at the expense of "grass roots" democracy. Broomfield says that industrial centers have resulted in the insecurity and low levels of living of the masses. Haystead takes the position that a produc-

tion of goods designed for rural needs, which has been neglected in the past, will make rural areas more attractive. Thompson develops the idea that in the atomic age cities are vulnerable to air attack and, therefore should be decentralized. Smith points out that man's moral and artistic potentialities can attain their fullest expression in the environment of the open country, villages and small cities. In the concluding chapter, Peterson states that the volume is "no blueprint for Utopia"; rather he contends for an orderly program of decentralization of industries and urban population.

The reviewer has found this book to be interesting and at times thought-provoking. Space permitting, certain statements would be singled out and challenged, but perhaps the following general criticisms will suffice: 1) "Normal" and "abnormal" are at best value-judgment terms, but the editor makes no attempt to define them. 2) Urban liabilities are aired, but assets of cities are blandly passed over. Furthermore, the advantages of rural life are acclaimed, but not even tacit recognition is given to obvious disadvantages of a rural environment. 3) In too many instances, pages are filled with emotionally-charged generalizations rather than with objective, documented analyses. 4) The most scholarly chapters are I, II, III, VI and IX. 5) Usually the approach is "practical" rather than anthropological or sociological.

JAMES E. MONTGOMERY.

Atlanta, Georgia.

*New Farm Homes For Old.* By Rupert B. Vance and Gordon W. Blackwell. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1946. Pp. xxii + 245. \$3.00.

This book is "probably the first study of rural public housing to be made in the United States." Part I discusses the need of housing improvement and the limited effort of government to meet it. Part II analyzes in detail the human factors in rural housing. Four counties containing 385 of the 515 rural dwellings built with Federal Public Housing Administration aid were selected

for study. Office records on 446 FPHA tenants and interviews with 191 rehoused families comprise the principal data. Part III evaluates the local housing authority and future issues of public policy. There are 187 statistical tables, excerpts from the U. S. Housing Act of 1937, and copies of schedules used, but no index.

Except for discrimination against Negro families, tenant selection has been representative of the social composition of the population. Rehoused families generally live in larger and more comfortable homes than previously, which facilitates health maintenance, social participation, and improved status. As measured by occupants' reactions, the housing program has been unusually successful.

The average development cost per dwelling was \$2,324, direct costs consuming 85 per cent and overhead 15 per cent. The construction of dwellings shows evidences of unwise use of urban standards, ignorance of rural housing needs, and pinch-penny limitations on space and costs. All dwellings lack eaves and gutters, and a small stoop replaces the front porch. The exclusion of separate rooms for eating and laundering and the substitution of wood for concrete steps are questionable economies. Although families pay rentals promptly, difficulties may arise over maintenance costs.

On future policy, the authors stress subsidized housing for rural as well as urban low income families, and recommend purchase contracts instead of rental agreements, at least for farm owners. No federal agency subsidizes the purchase of houses! Rural public housing should be administered by a special unit in some existing agency with personnel trained in rural housing and related fields.

This book should be read by every one interested in a careful appraisal of an important rural housing experiment. It contains the best available discussion of rural public housing.

ROBERT T. McMILLAN.  
Oklahoma Agricultural and  
Mechanical College.

*Twentieth Century Political Thought.* Edited by Joseph S. Rousek. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946. Pp. x + 657. \$6.00.

*Twentieth Century Political Thought* is a large volume dealing with the manifold aspects of political thought in twenty-eight chapters. A total of twenty-seven writers contributed to the effort. Just one writer, Joseph S. Rousek—who is also the editor, contributed two chapters. It is, perhaps, as much a matter of convenience as logic to speak of the various parts as chapters because they are essentially independent essays. The reader will find a concise, informative discussion of subjects like Soviet Communism, recent nationalism, Fascism, racism, religion in politics, agrarianism in politics, militarism and politics, and international law in the twentieth century. Interspersed among these are discussions of such topics as the sociological contributions to political theory, questions of sovereignty and recent trends in juristic thought, modern universalism, the elite in recent political thought, political geography and geopolitics, politics and semantics, and the nature of public opinion and propaganda. Then the emphasis changes from concept to territory and chapters dealing with British political thought, French political thought, German pre-Nazi political thought, and pre-Fascist Italian thought appear as well as discussions of political thought in Latin America, Central-Eastern Europe, Far East, Spain, and Scandinavia. More chapters dealing with other countries might be added here. Indeed, an entire volume discussing the ecological and sociological influences in current political thought in different parts of the world would be a welcome addition to our knowledge of contemporary political action.

Such a variety of topics, especially when each one is treated by a different writer, produces both the strength and the weakness of the volume. It unquestionably contains much valuable information which is presented in a concise way. Thus, the reader interested in a particular problem, agra-

rianism in politics, for example, can find a helpful treatise on the subject and a bibliography which suggests further reading. On the other hand, it is doubtful if the book presents a sufficiently integrated analysis of political thought to meet the requirements of some teachers who may consider it as a text. The volume provides, nevertheless, an informative introduction to the main cross-currents of political ideologies of the present century and, consequently, will aid both the lay reader and the student.

CHARLES R. HOFFER.  
Michigan State College.

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*Relief and Social Security.* By Lewis Merriam. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1946. Pp. xx + 912. \$5.00.

The central issue with which this study is concerned is: "How can the United States develop a universal, comprehensive, and co-ordinated system of social security that will relieve or prevent want at a cost which the nation can afford, without seriously interfering with the American way of life." (p. 2). The author believes this is a problem which must be faced immediately as part of the major problem of determining post-war public policy in view of the changes in the financial condition of the nation resulting from World War II and the depression years.

Part I is essentially a description of the several American relief and social security programs. Included are old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, the needy blind, old-age and survivors' insurance, railroad retirement and national civil service retirement systems, unemployment insurance, surplus commodities, W. P. A., Civilian Conservation Corps and N. Y. A. The chapter on programs for farmers and farm workers includes the special programs for tenant purchase loans, rural rehabilitation, resettlement, and the camps for migratory agricultural laborers. Throughout Part I there is a good deal of critical evaluation of the several programs which adds to the value and makes for interesting reading.

From the analysis of the separate pro-

grams, the author concludes there are three basic issues of public policy: (1) the issue of universal coverage since millions of citizens are excluded from direct benefits of the social security systems; (2) the issue of comprehensiveness since general public assistance is the only protection afforded in case of need resulting from some of the common hazards; and (3) the issue of coordination in view of the independent development of several of the American programs and the great variety of administrative and legislative responsibility for the programs. In Part II, the British plan and the New Zealand system are examined to see how they have attempted to meet these issues.

These three issues lead in turn to a series of interrelated major questions which are treated in Part III according to whether they are predominantly social problems, financial problems, or governmental and political problems. Such hard questions as the objectives of relief and social insurance, the nature of need, the pros and cons of the means test and who should be covered are among the social problems discussed.

Finally, after carefully stating certain assumptions dealing with "the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and the place of social security in the economic and social systems, the author proceeds to draw conclusions concerning the major questions raised.

An appendix shows the method used in estimating costs of various proposed security programs on the basis of U. S. Census data.

While there is certain to be strong difference of opinion concerning the carefully considered conclusions, there can be no question that this book represents a major contribution to social security literature.

Cornell University. OLAF F. LARSON.

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*The Roots of American Loyalty.* By Merle Curti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 267. \$3.00.

This book concerns itself not only with the "roots" of American loyalty, as it is ti-

tled, but with the history, development, and evolution of American self-consciousness, patriotism, nationalism, and loyalty. It is a scholarly, exhaustive study of concepts, emotions, ideas, attitudes, sentiments, and values of the American people from colonial times to present days. The author is an accomplished historian who has written a new type of history—a socio-psychological and a cultural history. In his own words, his is a story of human aspirations for prestige, security, and freedom.

The various factors or elements entering into the origin, development, and change of American patriotism, nationalism, and loyalty are discussed in the nine chapters of the book. What roles have geographical factors—the vastness of the area, its natural beauty, its rich resources—played in the rise and development of loyalty and patriotism? How have democratic aspects elicited loyalty in the people, especially in the plain folk? In what way are the Americans a unique people, a "chosen" people? What are the economics of loyalty? How have economic opportunities contributed to loyalty? What attempts have been made, what results achieved, in the building of loyalty through educational institutions and processes? What roles have symbols—such as the Eagle, the Flag, the Liberty Bell, Yankee Doodle, Brother Jonathan, Uncle Sam—played in the growth and perpetuation of patriotism and loyalty? How significant have been national holidays and festivals in connection with patriotism and loyalty? What have been the tests of loyalty? What are the limits of sacrifice which Americans have made for their country? How, in the name of loyalty and patriotism, have various unorthodox changes or reforms been stigmatized or hindered? These are some of the important questions raised and answered in this book. Numerous examples or sources are cited in support of the various views and generalizations presented.

This book, in the opinion of the reviewer, is a valuable contribution which would be of interest to historians, social scientists, and laymen. The bibliographical note at the

close of the book is rich and suggestive for further study of the subject.

LOUIS PETROFF.

Southern Illinois Normal University.

*A Few Brass Tacks.* By Louis Bromfield. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. 303. \$2.75.

With no pretense of being an economist, yet convinced that man's present bewilderment is more largely due to economic than to political, social, racial or national causes, Louis Bromfield has written *A Few Brass Tacks*. As the title suggests, he deals with the fundamental ills of the day as he senses them, doing so under the headings (1) real wealth versus money, (2) agriculture in relation to our national economy, (3) Thomas Jefferson versus Karl Marx, and (4) the nature of man. Indicative of his point of view are these division headings plus his dedication of the book to Chester C. Davis and Hugh S. Bennett.

Whatever the subject in hand, sooner or later he relates it to his at present all consuming concern for the conservation of natural resources, a message which probably can not be stated too frequently nor against too many different backgrounds. He calls attention to the fact that though some of the other nations may have made a greater per capita money investment in the war than we, no other made a greater investment of real wealth, irreplaceable natural resources. Mr. Bromfield feels that many of the troubles of the day result from the fact that cities have become economically and socially unworkable and uninhabitable. As in other writings, he admires the French peasant.

He is still disturbed over most of the depression measures of the New Deal with the notable exception of the TVA which he considers a government investment rather than government spending. He views with distaste the imperialism of Great Britain which has made of England essentially a banking nation, and he deplores the identification of our interests with those of Brit-

ain. He views the United Nations with misgivings, unless happily it should concern itself primarily with economic rather than political issues. He views Russia with worry and communism both here and abroad with great alarm, communism as contrasted with free enterprise being contrary to human nature as he sees it.

The book is repetitious and reactionary. For those sympathetic with Bromfield's point of view, it carries an eloquent plea for soil conservation, in which latter fact sociologists and economists must find satisfaction.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY ROBINSON.  
Western Michigan College  
of Education.

*An Introduction to Modern Economics.* By Valdemar Carlson. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1946. Pp. xvii + 337. \$3.50.

This is not just another text in economics; it is a specialty designed for the use of instructors who are primarily concerned with building up a theoretical understanding of economics which will be valid in dealing with problems of public policy. The theme of the treatment centers around the socio-economic problems of basic resource use in the American economy. The criterion of the efficiency of the economic system is the extent to which it allows the full utilization of the productive capacity. Some of the classical problems of political economy are considered as problems affecting resource utilization.

While attempting to furnish a frame of reference with ideas and facts relevant to public policy, the author has departed somewhat from the conventional approach of economic texts. Assuming that the subject matter should furnish a basis for public policy, he has presented and discussed the general field of economics within the larger political and social framework of the American economy. With due emphasis upon theory, the book is not a mere rehash of theoretical concepts. It is a realistic orientation to the contemporary economic sys-

tem as it actually operates. The freshness of his facts is attested by the wide use of the materials gathered by the Temporary National Economic Committee. The reader is brought up to date with a treatment of some of the problems of price and production in war time.

As an introduction to economics, this book should be of special interest to students in the field of rural sociology. This is no esoteric treatment of economic problems; rather they are discussed within the framework of contemporary social science. The author takes into consideration the influence of social groups, culture, social pressures, social conflicts, and he devotes a chapter to social change and another to the special problem of agriculture. Any discussion of such a wide range of topics as labor and the modern corporation is likely to be atomistic and brief in scope. However, this shortcoming is overbalanced by the fact that running through the book there is an outline of an organic conception of the economy as a whole. Here is a realistic interpretation of some problems of the American people in terms of the evolving economic situation as it actually functions, rather than a rationalization in terms of the philosophy of classical political economy. The creative instructor can turn its brevity to an advantage by a free use of contemporary materials.

LEWIS C. COPELAND.

Norris, Tennessee.

*Great Teachers.* Edited by Houston Peterson. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1946. Pp. xxi + 351. \$3.50.

This book is a portrayal of good teachers in action in classroom, in home, in laboratory, and in lecture hall. It is a collection of first-hand accounts already written by former students who recognized their debt to a former teacher.

A seemingly conglomerate array of twenty-one biographical sketches is given unity by a few pages of introductory comments and an epilogue, and by a background sketch, preceding each essay, which enables

the reader to appreciate the full significance of the account that follows.

As the famous teachers are introduced and their work as instructors described, evidence piles up to prove what most in the teaching profession have long suspected, namely, that success in this field may be achieved along diverse routes. In the first essay, Helen Keller pays tribute to the long-suffering patience of Anne Mansfield Sullivan; and in another, John Stuart Mill testifies to the rigid schedule of study imposed upon him by his father but which enabled John to start "with an advantage of a quarter of a century" over his contemporaries. Mark Hopkins employed the Socratic method, a system of keen, skillful, and kindly questioning; Garman of Amherst, though he published virtually nothing and spoke rarely in public, had a profound influence upon his generation of students by teaching primarily a process of thought and aiming to develop not disciples but apostles; Woodrow Wilson at Princeton earned his place among the great essentially as a lecturer rather than as the teacher; and Louis Agassiz at Harvard gave out the greater part of instruction in diverse bits of conversation. "Kitty" at Harvard terrorized his students to delve into the mysteries of Shakespeare. Carl L. Becker remembers how the great Frederick Jackson Turner inspired his students to think, not telling them what to think; similarly, Malvina Hoffman remembers Auguste Rodin's sensibility and understanding for the cringing pupil. And then there is that intangible technique which James Russell Lowell recognized in Emerson, "that inspiring lift which only genius can give, and without which all doctrine is chaff."

The reviewer feels that all the selections are good save the one on Sanderson of Oundle. Why the editor included in a portrayal of great teachers an account of a chapel speaker who rambles over a good part of the New Testament and finally gets around to 'Rule Britannia' is not clear.

The book may be recommended to such as have lost their enthusiasm for teaching, or who have made teaching of secondary

importance to writing, or who are beginning their career in the teaching profession. It will go far to kindle or rekindle "contagious enthusiasm," the indispensable trait of the good teacher.

OSCAR F. HOFFMAN.

Elmhurst College.

*Independent People.* By Hallador Laxness. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. Pp. vi + 470. \$3.00.

Rural sociologists will welcome this book as a valuable addition to the literature of rural life in other lands. While *Independent People* is a novel woven about the struggles of the peasant hero Bjartur and his quest for independence on the land, it is in epic motif, symbolic of the life-span of the Icelandic nation. Bjartur, typifying the small landowner is "a man who had broken new soil, a man who also had faith in his country, and what was more, who showed it in his deed . . . ready and eager to wage his war of independence with hostile power, natural and supernatural, and undaunted, set the world at naught." (p. 51)

Book I opens with Bjartur's purchase of a small upland sheep farm after working for eighteen years for a master whom he loathed. "Independence," says he, "is the most important thing in all life. I say for my part that a man lives in vain until he is independent." (p. 29) Stoic and resolved, the hero accepts the deaths of two wives and the fate of his children for the unwavering ideal of freeing himself of debt and attaining independence.

In Book II hard times test the strength of the indomitable Bjartur. Soon, however, World War I brings great prosperity to the Icelandic farmer. But in the years following the war, the impact of chaotic world conditions reaches Iceland, and inevitably small farmers are swept into the tide of events which symbolize the country's struggle as a free nation. No longer is Bjartur independent of the great forces affecting the nation as a whole—the cooperative movement, changing markets and prices, labor uprisings, etc. And in the end he loses

his farm for which he has struggled a lifetime and sacrificed everything.

In the tradition of the epic writers, the book is "nobly phrased," and not one from which the content can be gleaned in an evening's examination. It is, however, an important book and well worth the while of anyone interested in Iceland, a nation of 122,000 people, more than one-half of whom are agriculturalists and stock raisers.

MARGARET L. BRIGHT.

University of Missouri.

*Autobiography of a Farm Boy.* By Isaac Phillips Roberts. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 209. \$2.50.

This reissue of a book, originally published in 1916, is the autobiography of the first Dean of the College of Agriculture at Cornell University.

The first half of the book deals with Roberts' childhood and youth. It reads like the rambling reminiscences of a very old man, which the author was at the time he wrote the book. When Roberts begins writing about his manhood, however, as Superintendent of the College Farm at Iowa State College and later as Dean of Agriculture at Cornell, his pen becomes more facile and his style more forceful and interesting.

It is this section of the book, making up about half of the total work, which would be of considerable interest to rural sociologists. The growing pains of rural sociology as a science are thrown into full perspective as one views the efforts to establish ". . . the college method of raising the business of farming to an intelligent and dignified calling." (p. 104) Many of the problems attending the growth in stature of agriculture as a college study—the lack of adequate literature on scientific agriculture, the fight for recognition of agriculture and its teachers among classically educated faculty members, the battle for acceptance by farmers and the leading farm organizations, the problem of trying to experiment when no funds were available except to op-

erate the college farm as a "model"—are depicted here in the pithy language of a pioneer in agricultural education.

DUANE L. GIBSON.  
Michigan State College.

*Reliable Knowledge.* By Harold A. Larrabee. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. Pp. ix + 685. \$3.75.

This book, by a philosopher but of particular interest to social scientists, deals with the basic problems of methodology which are all too much neglected in social writing, teaching, and even thinking. A recent reviewer of a similar work airily suggested that such a book might be worthwhile if anyone were interested in methodology. Such is a common attitude toward the validity of social analysis.

*Reliable Knowledge* is a splendid example of writing for student understanding. The illustrative examples, case materials, and discussion questions which illuminate each chapter are interesting, apt, and provocative. If, as the reviewer believes, a course in methods should be required of every student in sociology, economics, and other social subjects, this book would be a most attractive text.

Especially to be commended are the chapters on observation, semantics, causal analysis, and values. The author's use of and comments upon John Stuart Mill's methods are satisfactory. If there are faults in the book, they are the attempted explanation of formal logic in one chapter, statistics in another, and probability theory in a third. Such subjects are more competently discussed elsewhere, and should have been included by reference only. The extra space could have been used for a more detailed outline of specific methods used in social science: the survey method and the human documents method in sociology, the Gestalt method in psychology, and so forth.

When a philosopher lives up to the highest expectations of his profession and exhibits not only profound scholarship and keen analysis, but broad reading and sympathy and facile expression as well, he de-

serves equally broad appreciation. Is it going too far to say that every social scientist should have "Reliable Knowledge"?

EDGAR Z. PALMER.  
The University of Nebraska.

*A Negro's Faith in America.* By Spencer Logan. New York: MacMillan Company, 1946. Pp. 88. \$1.75.

This is a book on the race problem in the United States that is neither a narrow case history nor a flaming revolutionary manifesto. Rather, it is a series of considered observations on the principal issues of Negro-white relations with suggestions as to causes and solutions. The author was reared in New Jersey and though he served overseas as a staff sergeant, he writes from an experience that is both Northern and urban; as such, his generalizations must be taken with some reservations.

Yet the author is honest and objective. He lists the failings of his minority group and asks only that they be evaluated against its background of economic and educational discrimination. He laments that Negro and white alike have allowed one word—Harlem—to become the symbol of Negro culture. The race problem can only be solved, he believes, when Negroes develop their own leadership. This involves emphasizing and developing Negro traits and achievements and thus building pride in the race. Social and economic equality does not involve, he states, removal of distinction between colors. He sees fear of miscegenation as one of the principal obstacles to achieving this dual-race democracy. It can be removed if whites realize that most Negroes do not desire to marry whites and that "the existence of millions of mulattoes resulting from the union of white men and Negro women bespeaks a worse record of forced relationships." He has no confidence in solving problems "by a bank note or the passage of a series of unenforceable laws," but he has faith that education will lead to a fuller understanding of the principles of Christian democracy and to a tolerance of differences between people. He ends with a note of op-

tism by explaining briefly the numerous agencies and techniques for improving race relations. His book is a valuable addition to racial literature, especially since Mr. Logan's realistic and constructive analysis is living evidence of Negro talent.

EMERSON HYNES.

St. John's University.

*Wheat Farms of Victoria.* By Alan J. Holt. Victoria, Australia: University of Melbourne, N. S. W. 1946. Pp. xv + 179. 10 Shillings.

This is the second rural sociological study from Australia done under the direction of Professor S. M. Wadham. Field work on two others is underway. It is impossible in the space allowed to review this book adequately. It is a thorough and complete job covering a carefully selected sample in each of the major wheat-growing areas of the state of Victoria. These areas and their farms are described in detail. Population, housing, work, leisure, external services, social organizations, health and attitudes are then discussed in order. The final chapters concern the effect of the war on the wheat farms and their life, and give a summary of findings and policy suggestions. Many of the data are given in form that makes comparison with some of the studies in North and South Dakota possible. Such comparisons raise interesting questions at a number of points both from the American and Australian points of view.

To this reviewer the book holds peculiar interest. He visited one economic survey project locale with Professor Wadham in 1937. He had never heard an economist argue so forcefully for the necessity of a strong rural sociology. Professor Wadham returns to this thesis in his foreword and is now able to announce that "The Agriculture School of the University of Melbourne has accordingly given rural sociology a major place in its programme of research." No other Australian university has moved in this direction. The announced program should make Melbourne the premier institution in the British Commonwealth of Na-

tions in this area. It is to be hoped that the ties between rural sociologists in America and the small but able group in Australia will grow ever closer. At least American departments might well send their research bulletins "down under."

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER.

Columbia University.

*Secondary Education in the South.* By W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn and Arnold K. King. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 267. \$3.00.

*Secondary Education in the South* is a story of a growing region. It represents a picture of the growth of the secondary school over a period of some forty years. Each chapter has been developed by a separate person or by a separate group of persons, all working toward one apparent purpose: That purpose is to tell a convincing factual story of the rapid growth of education at the secondary level over the forty-year period.

The book does more than tell a story. It reveals the spirit which undergirds the growth of education in the southern region. It reveals the story of experiment in education. It reveals the willingness of the South as an educational youngster to try something new. It reveals the good sense of these leaders who hold on to old things of value until the new is ripe enough to replace the old.

It reveals the basic Americanism of a region which has caught the true spirit of democracy. Education is the right of every child, hence equalization of educational opportunity is developing rapidly; high standards of education at the secondary level are essential and the development of standards has been a major feature of educational growth in the region; rural high schools have become the symbol of a growing community life through the community school; training in vocations has grown rapidly; and high school libraries are the core of the learning progress. The coopera-

tive development of secondary curriculum has been pronounced in the region.

The book is not a defense of the South. It is not boastful. It is written by those who know what is happening in the region in secondary education. It is an inspiring study of a region which is on the educational frontier. The region is boldly attacking the problems of youth education. The authors have dared to tell the world about it.

R. E. JAGGERS.

Kentucky State Department  
of Education.

*Research and Regional Welfare.* Edited by Robert E. Coker. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 229. \$3.00.

This volume is made up of papers which were presented in a conference on Research and Regional Welfare at Chapel Hill in May, 1945, on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University of North Carolina. The theme of the conference was the need for research and its relation to regional and national welfare.

Fifteen men, representing other regions of the country as well as the South, contributed to the book in addition to Professor Louis R. Wilson of the University of North Carolina who wrote the Foreword and Professor Robert E. Coker of the same institution who wrote the Introduction and ably edited the rest of the volume. Some of the other contributors come from colleges and universities, some are men from governmental agencies, and others represent southern business and industry.

The papers are classified under three main headings. An idea of the range of subjects treated can be given by an enumeration of these headings. The first, entitled "The Key to the Future," consists of three papers which discuss the role of research in general in its relation to human welfare. This is followed by "Research in the South," composed of two papers with more regional application. The next four sections deal with the place of research in several specific phases of southern life. They are en-

titled: "Nutrition and Public Health," "The Humanities and Social Sciences," "The Physical Sciences and Industry," and "The Biological Sciences." A final section of the book is given over to a discussion of "Research, the Foundation of the Future."

This all makes interesting reading, to the rural sociologist as well as to the southerner in general. For, although the role of the social scientist and his contributions to research are not stressed in the book, a wide range of topics which have direct bearing on phenomena in which he is interested are treated by men well qualified to discuss them.

LOUISE KEMP.

Louisiana State University.

*Learn and Live.* By Clara M. Olson and Norman D. Fletcher. New York: Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Inc., 1946. Pp. 101.

Outlined first "for those who must run and read," by a condensed section of charts and pictures in the front of the book, this report brings specific, concrete examples of a democratic, functional way of learning and its corresponding way of teaching.

This readable book reports the progress of an education experiment sponsored by Sloan Foundation, state institutions, and local education systems. The experiment's purpose is to include applied economics in public schools, grades one to twelve, and to measure results in community living. The basic problems attacked are food, shelter and clothing. We are told how it is being done and the signs of progress, as well as of the growing interest among teachers' colleges in preparing their graduates for such an approach to their jobs. The experiment puts reading, writing and numbers in place as a means to an end. Preparation of suitable materials has been the initial action, common to all schools involved, participated in by teachers and pupils, as well as subject matter and reading experts.

It seems reasonable, like other aspects of the experiment, that the food problem be the basis of the Kentucky experiment, cloth-

ing that of Vermont. However, the imaginative, forward-looking reader will be pleased to find that, already, selected schools are attacking the three-way problem. Not the least interesting part of the book is the twelve-page outline of one year's grade objectives, activities and materials in the area of food, housing and clothing problems of the families of a Florida community.

Rural sociologists and others associated with such an experiment undoubtedly must find satisfaction in helping to develop resource material for an attempt to achieve results in "learning and living" that will be measured by progress in the community, not by classroom tests.

LOIS SCANTLAND.

Washington State College.

*Citizen 13660.* By Mine Okubo. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. 209. \$2.75.

*Citizen 13660* is a remarkable documentation in drawing and brief text of the relocation of 110,000 people of Japanese descent, nearly two-thirds of them American citizens, shortly after Pearl Harbor. Among those rounded up was Mine Okubo, California-born and an art graduate of the University of California.

As "No. 13660" Miss Okubo spent nearly six months in a converted horse stable at the Tanforan race tracks, a temporary assembly center, and over a year at Topaz Relocation Center in Utah. The artist has recorded her observations and experiences even though the atmosphere of the camp was not conducive to creative work.

The book contains nearly two hundred drawings and a brief text explaining each illustration. The sketches are arranged in chronological order. They form a diary of the evacuation and relocation of these Japanese-Americans.

The aim of the book seems to be to help the reader understand life "inside" the relocation center. One might well expect these documentary sketches of camp life to express personal bitterness. The author, however, rises above resentment and rancor and

displays an objectivity about her experience and treatment in camp. Touches of humor, interspersed throughout the text, add interest for the reader.

The book will be useful for collateral reading in a course on Race and Cultural Contacts where group conflicts and race prejudices are investigated.

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD, JR.

College of Wooster.

*Letters of a Ticonderoga Farmer.* Edited by Frederick G. Bascom. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1946. Pp. xii + 134.

These homely letters of the farmer-father, supplemented occasionally by mother and son, reveal with undeniable flavor the trials and compensations of parents who for more than twenty years turn their trickle of hard-earned savings into the cup of an only child's education. The correspondence gives an intimate view of up-state New York farm life as it reaches into the student's years at New England's Phillips Andover, Yale, Harvard, and Andover Theological, later into graduate studies at the leading German universities of the day, and finally into the son's lectureships in Boston and New York City.

This neat volume will appeal to a wide range of readers: the rural sociologist concerned with regional backgrounds; the educator interested in parent-youth-faculty relationships; the historian of the Lincoln period; the ethical or religious leader tracing the change in the concepts of morality; and the general reader who comprehends in a less specialized way all these interests. One is led by these pages into a reconsideration of the narrowness or breadth of living that may emerge in a rural culture, the relations of home and school in the development of youth, and the paradox of profound changes along with persistent similarity of fundamental strivings.

The reviewer's enthusiasm for these letters is deepened by his summer's return to an Ohio home, cleared from forest to field during the years of the Cook correspondence

by another New York State family. Here and elsewhere in America one can still see farm families facing life courageously.

WILLIAM F. BRUCE.

New York State Teachers  
College, Oneonta.

*Rudimentary Mathematics for Economists and Statisticians.* By W. L. Crum and J. A. Schumpeter. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1946. Pp. xi + 183. \$2.50.

It was hardly necessary to have engaged two such eminent economists to produce this little book. It purports to be a self-teacher for economists in the basic concepts of mathematics from analytic geometry to differential equations. The addition of "statisticians" to the title is deceptive, since nothing of especial interest to statisticians appears except four pages on the line of regression.

Theoretical economic illustrations are used. The progress of the subject matter is parabolic, in that it starts with an easy gradient, becoming ever steeper as it proceeds. Eventually the climb becomes so steep that the economic illustrations are omitted for pages at a time. No exercises or problems are suggested, as in the ordinary mathematics text. The chief usefulness of the book is probably as a refresher for economists who have had the mathematics courses involved.

EDGAR Z. PALMER.

The University of Nebraska.

*Guide to Public Affairs Organizations.* By Charles R. Read and Samuel Marble. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1946. Pp. vi + 129. \$2.00.

This is a useful volume of listings of organizations, private and governmental, and of journals which deal with the improvement of the social conditions under which we live. The authors state that they have listed only organizations which have national or international memberships and

which offer services to the general rather than the limited public. Even on this basis such an important agency as the American Country Life Association is omitted.

Organizations and publications are divided and cross classified under eighteen categories, some of which are: International Affairs and World Order, Minorities, Religion, Housing, Education, Rural and Small Community Life. There is a comprehensive index of all organizations at the end of the volume. Even though the listings are incomplete, this volume is an important reference point for studies in propaganda or social movements.

ROCKWELL C. SMITH.  
Garrett Biblical Institute.

#### Other Books Received

*When Peoples Meet.* Edited by Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern. New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., 1946. Pp. xii + 825. \$3.75.

*Career Opportunities.* Edited by Mark Morris. Washington, D. C.: Progress Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 354. \$3.25.

*Children of the Cumberland.* By Claudia Lewis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xviii + 217. \$2.75.

*Labor Unionism in American Agriculture.* By United States Department of Labor. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. x + 457. \$.70.

*Enrollment Increases and Changes in the Mental Level of the High School Population.* By F. H. Finch. California: Stanford University Press, 1946. Pp. 75. \$1.25.

*Problems in Prejudice.* By Eugene Hartley. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xii + 124. \$2.00.

*Success on the Small Farm.* By Haydn S. Pearson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946. Pp. xi + 285. \$2.50.

- The Public and its Problems.* By John Dewey. Chicago, Illinois: Gateway Books, 1946. Pp. xii + 224. \$2.50.
- For This We Fought.* By Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1946. Pp. x + 123. \$1.00.
- Religion in the Struggle for Power.* By J. Milton Yinger. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1946. Pp. xix + 275. \$3.00.
- The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo.* By Margaret Lantis. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1946. Pp. 170. \$2.50.
- Rural Life and the Church.* By David E. Lindstrom. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 205. \$2.50.
- Job Guide.* Edited by Sydney H. Kasper. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1946. Pp. iii + 193. \$2.50.
- Post-War Markets.* Edited by E. Jay Howenstine. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 184. \$2.50.
- Production Credit for Southern Cotton Growers.* By A. E. Nielsen. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. vi + 193. \$2.50.
- Outline of American Rural Sociology.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. iii + 55. \$1.75.
- Outline of Social Change and Progress.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. ii + 64. \$1.75.

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Edited By Leland B. Tate*

**Columbia University.** Dr. Douglas Ensinger of the United States Department of Agriculture was visiting professor of rural sociology during the 1946 summer session.

Rural sociology has shared in the tripling of the number of majors in the graduate faculty of sociology as compared with the last semester. The enrollment in the major course in rural sociology in the first semester is 120. Dr. Alan Westerman has been added to the staff as instructor and Mr. Alan Hugg, B. A., University of Manitoba, Master of Education, Springfield, as graduate assistant.

The university-wide seminar on rural life is this year considering the family farm. The staff includes an economist, an anthropologist, an historian, a psychologist, two rural sociologists, a rural educationist, and a librarian.

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**Harvard University.** *Outline of American Rural Sociology* by Carle C. Zimmerman (pp. iii, 55, mimeographed, Phillips Book Store, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass., \$1.75). was published in a limited edition in September. It presents the outline, chief theories and bibliography for a mature system of American rural sociology. By arrangement with the publisher it can be made available in quantities to those institutions where it is planned to use it as a basic text for either undergraduates or graduates. Eventually it will be elaborated into a full text which will be a development and exposition of the theories succinctly given in the Outline.

A study of *Good Families* is being started at Harvard University by Carle C. Zimmerman with the assistance of Albert N. Cousins and Howard Earl Furnas. The study will isolate fifty "good" men, elaborate the family systems of their origin and their own creation, their conceptions of "good families" and will finally secure data on the

fifty good families which will be suggested by them as most illustrative of their "ideal" picture. The field work and study will take a year. It will seek levels of "casual" analysis more involved than those used in contemporary Pearsonian associational studies.

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**Iowa State College.** Robert C. Clark, former director of Older Rural Youth program for the Iowa Agricultural Extension Service, has returned to Iowa State College to teach rural sociology and to continue his studies toward a Ph.D. in rural sociology. Bob's last job for the navy was to set up and operate Radio Tokyo.

Dr. J. B. Gittler has a grant from the Iowa State College Research Council which will enable him to continue and enlarge his studies in the Sociology of Industrial Relations.

Neal Gross, a former research associate in rural sociology at Iowa State College, has returned to the staff following a year of graduate study at the University of Chicago. He is now completing his research on "Sociological variables and cultural configurations in contemporary rural communities." He will take up his duties as assistant professor of sociology at Iowa State in December.

Dr. Reuben Hill is in charge of a newly established collaborative course in Marriage and the Family. Other family courses include a senior course in sociology of the family and a graduate seminar.

Robert Rohwer joined the sociology staff in September as an instructor in rural sociology. Bob expects to obtain his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin next year. He is doing research on the factors which influence the succession of operators on farms, with special reference to the farm family.

Dr. William J. Tudor received his Ph.D. in rural sociology from Iowa State College in July where he is now an assistant profes-

sor. He is continuing his research on the influence of organization factors on changes in the program of the agricultural extension service.

Dr. Ray E. Wakeley is completing his study of graduate training in rural sociology.

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**University of Kentucky.** Mr. Ralph J. Ramsey, recently of the southwestern regional land tenure study staff, has been appointed field agent in rural sociology, and is developing a project for the Extension Service in rural leadership and community organization. Mr. Ramsey is Kentucky's first extension specialist in this field.

Dr. Harold F. Kaufman, assistant rural sociologist in the Experiment Station has been added also to the resident instruction staff with the rank of assistant professor.

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**Virginia Polytechnic Institute.** Students enrolled in Basic Rural Sociology for the fall quarter total 138.

Clinton L. Folse has completed the field work on a sample survey of the "Unmet Medical Needs of the Open Country Population of Pulaski County." The sample of households included in the study was based on an economic classification of the various land types found in the county, and the schedule used for the interviews was that developed by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, BAE in cooperation with the U. S. Public Health Service. (Schuler and others, "Notes on Measuring Unmet Medical Needs for Medical Care: An experiment in Method," RURAL SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 11, June, 1946). Additional information was added to this schedule to meet local needs. The results will be published shortly to show the relationship between the different land classes and unmet medical needs.

Folse also plans to start field work soon on a project entitled "Levels of Living and Economic Land Classes."

W. E. Garnett is continuing his study of rural housing which was partly summarized in his mimeographed progress report entitled "The Housing of Virginia Rural

Folk," issued as Rural Sociology Report No. 31, March, 1946. Field work, primarily focused on causes for given conditions, has been done in six counties and the facts obtained are in process of tabulation.

Leland B. Tate is working on a research report to be published in early 1947 under the title of "What Happens from Rural Industrialization."

**Oregon State College.** Professor Robert H. Dann, associate professor of sociology and economics, has been granted a sabbatical leave for 1946-47. He is traveling in New Zealand and Australia under the auspices of the British Society of Friends and the American Society of Friends. He, his wife and daughter sailed for New Zealand in August, and expect to be gone for one full year.

Dr. H. H. Plambeck is now serving as assistant professor of sociology. He received his bachelor and master's degrees from the University of Oregon, and his Doctor of Philosophy from Cornell University. During the past five years he has been employed at Montana State College.

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**The State College of Washington.** Three fellows have been appointed to the division of rural sociology for the year 1946-1947: Miss Dorothy Boyland of the Texas State College for Women, Miss Barbara Day and Miss Hernina Helmich, both of the State College of Washington. Miss Carol Larson was appointed to a research assistantship in the division.

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**Cornell University.** Professor W. A. Anderson participated in the 1946 session of the American Institute of Cooperation at Purdue University, August 26 to 30th presenting a paper entitled "The Need for Cooperative Education."

Olaf F. Larson joined the staff September 15th as associate professor of rural sociology. He was formerly regional leader in the Pacific Northwest for the BAE Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. During the week of September 23rd he discussed the BAE research program in farm

population at an area conference of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics held in Chicago.

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Louisiana State University. Mr. Bardin H. Nelson and Mr. Joseph S. Vandiver have been appointed instructors in the department of sociology.

Mr. Alvin L. Bertrand has been appointed research assistant in the department of rural sociology.

While he was in Rio de Janeiro serving as visiting professor at the Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia, T. Lynn Smith was awarded the degree of Doutor "Honoris Causa" by the Universidade do Brazil. This degree was given in recognition of Smith's book, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, recently published by the Louisiana State University Press.

The Casa do Estudante do Brazil (National Student Federation of Brazil) has just brought out *Sociologia da Vida Rural*, a Portuguese translation of T. Lynn Smith's *Sociology of Rural Life*.

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Michigan State College. Duane Gibson returned from the Navy September 1 where, with the rank of Lieutenant Commander, he was serving in the Test and Research Section of the Bureau of Naval Personnel. While in the Navy he assisted in surveys of morale, orientation and future plans of enlisted men. As a joint employee of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Agricultural Experiment Station, he is now teaching social psychology and sociology and working with Edgar Schuler in the development of surveys of attitudes, opinions and information of rural and urban people. Gibson's graduate training was at Cornell University.

Edgar Schuler, social psychologist, formerly with the staffs of Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of War Information, and Louisiana State University, joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, September 1. He will be in charge of the social psychology courses and is heading up studies of

Michigan rural libraries and assisting agricultural extension workers in attitude, opinion and information studies aimed at sensitizing extension programs to local desires and needs. He and C. R. Hoffer are engaged in a study of Michigan's unmet medical needs. The schedule being used in this latter study is that developed by Schuler and several USDA and Public Health service doctors and has been used in studies in North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and Washington. The effectiveness of this instrument, designed for use by laymen, has been validated through physical examinations of persons to whom it has been applied by doctors in North Carolina and Michigan. The Michigan Department of Health, The University of Michigan Hospital, and the Department of Public Health of the University of Michigan are cooperating. Schuler's graduate training was at Harvard and Minnesota.

Christopher Sower, who since returning from service with the Red Cross where he was club supervisor in the Rhineland, Germany, has been engaged in research in the Division of Field Studies and Training in the Agricultural Extension Service of the USDA, joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, October 1. Before joining the staff, Sower completed a study of the 4-H Club and youth programs in Kentucky and plans to continue similar studies in Michigan. His graduate work at Ohio State was in social service and sociology.

J. Allan Beegle, who has just completed the manuscript for an Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin on the composition and characteristics of Michigan's population, is senior author with T. Lynn Smith of the Louisiana Experiment Station Bulletin, "Differential Fertility in Louisiana."

Werner Bohnstedt, who was joint visiting lecturer for the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Institute of Foreign Studies this summer, has accepted a position as associate professor in the Department of History of Civilization in the Basic College at Michigan State College. He is also assisting C. P. Loomis on a

statistical study of factors related to the rise of Nazism and Communism in Germany. This study is being made for the War Department.

C. R. Hoffer has finished field work on a study of unmet medical needs in three Michigan counties. Paul Honigsheim, who has been promoted to full professor, applied his quarter off from teaching to finishing a series of articles on Max Weber and developing his analysis of the ideological factors related to Nazism and Communism. He is offering for the first time in this quarter a course, entitled "Comparative Social History." Solon Kimball was a staff member of Wellesley School on Community Affairs' project of inter-cultural relations. He is now assisting the Michigan Agricultural Extension Service and Experiment Station in a study upon which land use planning and action in Sanilac County is to be based. Judson Landis used his quarter off from teaching to begin the study of rural libraries and has begun a study of community and family adjustments of former service men who are married and living in trailer camps and elsewhere, while attending Michigan State College. The participant observer method is being employed.

Charles P. Loomis, head of the department, taught the Farm Foundation's graduate course in rural sociology for rural ministers at Garrett Biblical Institute during August. He has received a Social Science Research Council grant to complete a study of the changes in attitudes, opinions, English speaking ability and knowledge about the United States as a result of one year's stay in the United States on the part of Latin American USDA Trainees. This study was begun while he was acting head of the Division of Extension and Training in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations in the USDA.

J. Frederick Thaden returned from 9 months' leave July 1. During his absence he studied the school systems and consolidation plans of states in the middlewest, southwest, and southeast. He is now carrying on Experiment Station Research on problems related to school reorganization in

close cooperation with the Michigan Department of Public Instruction.

Wilson Longmore, social scientist on leave from the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, USDA, is working on his Ph. D. thesis on the regional characteristics of rural locality groups throughout the United States in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology this year. He is studying under a Hinman fellowship.

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University of Mississippi. Morton B. King, Jr. became head of the department of sociology in February upon his release from the Army. He was stationed at personnel centers and hospitals doing classification and both vocational and psychiatric counseling.

Vernon Davies joined the staff as associate professor at the beginning of the summer session, coming from the University of Minnesota where during 1945-46 he was acting director of research in rural sociology during Professor Lowry Nelson's leave of absence.

Julien R. Tatum is assistant professor. During 1945-46 he was on leave from the University of Arkansas completing his doctorate at Louisiana State University.

Professor Allen D. Edwards, head of the department of sociology at Winthrop College, taught Population and the Southern Region during the second summer term.

A research program, supported in part by departmental funds, has been started in cooperation with the University's Bureau of Public Administration. The Master's degree will be offered with graduate fellowships available for qualified applicants.

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University of Missouri. Cecil L. Gregory joined the staff of the department of rural sociology as instructor on July 1st.

Two new courses "Group Organization" and "Group Work" have been added in the rural sociology curriculum. These two courses will be required of all agricultural students preparing to do county extension work.

A research bulletin, "Use of Medical Services in Rural Missouri," by Harold F. Kaufman, now at the University of Kentucky, has recently been released as second in a rural health series inaugurated by the department.

**University of Minnesota.** Lowry Nelson returned from a year's leave of absence in September. He spent the past year making a study of rural life in the Caribbean under the joint auspices of the State Department and the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Most of the year was spent in Cuba where surveys of eleven rural communities were made with the cooperation of the Ministry of Agriculture. Seven hundred and forty-two family schedules were secured from five type-of-farming areas. Mr. Nelson's textbook in rural sociology is being published in the spring by the American Book Company.

Douglas Marshall joined the staff in September and will teach courses in rural sociology and population, as well as spending about half time on research in the experiment station. Mr. Marshall received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1943. After taking his degree, he became a member of the staff at Wisconsin (1943-44) carrying on research on ethnic groups and assisting in the re-study of Dane County neighborhoods. During 1944-45 he was a member of the staff at the University of Toronto, returning to Wisconsin during 1945-46.

**Brigham Young University.** Reed H. Bradford has joined the sociology department at Brigham Young University. He was formerly employed by West Virginia University. He completed requirements for his Doctor of Philosophy Degree at Harvard in August and used as his thesis subject "Differential Fertility in the United States."

Other regular members of the teaching staff are Harold T. Christensen and Ariele S. Ballif. Professor Emeritus John C. Swenson handles one advanced course each quarter. Vaughn Taylor and Roland Thunell have been appointed graduate assistants

and are handling sections in lower division classes to help take care of an enrollment unprecedented at this institution.

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**Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.** Dr. Robert L. McMillan has been promoted from associate professor to professor of sociology and rural life.

Dr. Paul B. Foreman, formerly professor of sociology at the University of Mississippi, became professor of sociology February 1, 1946.

Mr. Charles D. Roberts became assistant professor of sociology and rural life on September 1, 1946.

Mr. Therell R. Black became assistant professor of sociology on September 1, 1946.

Mr. Wendell P. Logan is instructor in sociology for the current year.

Dr. J. F. Page became emeritus professor of sociology on September 1, 1946, after eighteen years' of service to this institution.

Dr. William L. Kolb resigned his position as assistant professor of sociology to accept a similar position at Sophie Newcomb College at the beginning of the academic year.

Mr. C. Richard Draper, social scientist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, B. A. E., joins the staff here on a cooperative basis for the current year. While here, he will work in both Oklahoma and Texas.

To date this year, student enrollments in sociology have passed all previous records. Whether for weal or woe, it appears that as an academic discipline sociology is occupying an ever increasing proportion of the time of college students. In some respects, this is ominous, but no one has yet been able to read the signs well enough to tell exactly what it means.

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**Wayne University.** Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman, announces the following changes in the personnel of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wayne University effective the fall semester of 1946:

New staff members: Dr. Maurice T. Price, Associate Professor, formerly of the

University of Illinois; Dr. Stephen W. Mamchur, Assistant Professor, formerly of the Office of War Information and the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul; Dr. William Josiah Goode, Assistant Professor, formerly of Pennsylvania State College; and Henry A. Baker, Instructor, formerly of Union College, Schenectady, and the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

Promotions: Dr. Norman Daymond Humphrey, to Associate Professor, and Dr. Mervin M. Tumin, to Assistant Professor.

New teaching assistants: Irving D. Rosow, Richard V. Marks, Lester F. Schmidt, and James F. McKee.

New Special Lecturers: Dr. Mervin Patterson (social psychiatry), Wayne County Psychiatric Clinic; Dr. F. Gaynor Evans (physical anthropology), College of Medicine, Wayne University; and Dr. Harold A. Basilius (comparative linguistics), Department of the Humanities, Wayne University.

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Winthrop College. Dr. Dorothy Jones spent part of the summer working on a community study in Pittsylvania County, Virginia which was started several years ago. She expects to have the manuscript ready for publication by Christmas.

Dr. Allen D. Edwards, head of the department of sociology, taught courses in Population and the Southern Region at the University of Mississippi during the second term of summer school.

Mrs. Betsy Castleberry who has been working for the program surveys division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture has been added to the staff as assistant professor of sociology.

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#### FAO Conference

The Second Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations was held in Copenhagen, Denmark, September 2-13, 1946. The Organization had been established at the conference held in Quebec in October, 1945. The Copenhagen Conference reviewed the work done by the Organization during the first months of its existence and made suggestions for work in the months ahead. The main discussion cen-

tered around the problem of long-range world food policies.

Prior to the conference, Sir John Orr, the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, had submitted a printed report, entitled "Proposal for a World Food Board." After examination of these proposals, the conference voted to establish a preparatory commission, consisting of representatives of 16 member nations with participation by three non-member nations. The commission is to meet in Washington beginning October 28 and will be charged with working out detailed recommendations for an international program at the earliest possible date. It was agreed that international machinery is necessary to achieve the objectives of (a) developing and organizing production, distribution, and utilization of the basic foods to provide diets on a healthful standard for the peoples of all countries; and (b) stabilizing agricultural prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike. The preparatory commission is to consider the proposals submitted by the Director General and any alternative proposals which may be submitted to it, together with other relevant suggestions. Other international organizations are invited to send representatives. The recommendations of the commission will be submitted to the next FAO conference and after consideration there, the report will be brought before the United Nations.

In emphasizing long-range problems, the Conference was fully aware that the post war period of emergency food shortages is by no means ended and that for the next few months the over-riding problem will be to produce as much as possible, husband what is produced, and get it to the people who need it most. The recommendations of the special meeting called by FAO in Washington last May, which had asked for continued controls and economies in the use of grains and other basic foods in short supply, were reaffirmed. The resolution of the UNRRA council, pointing out the need for special action to finance food imports by nations which have been receiving aid from UNRRA, was endorsed.

The conference divided its work among three commissions; one for technical questions, one for organization and administration, and one for world food policy. The commissions in turn established committees. The committees for technical considerations dealt with agriculture, nutrition, forestry, fisheries, economics and statistics, and FAO missions.

The various committees reviewed the work done by the FAO staff since the Quebec Conference, checked the plans for next year, and offered suggestions of their own. The work of the technical committees was aided by the reports of FAO's Standing Advisory Committees which had held their first meetings in various parts of Europe just before the Copenhagen Conference opened.

Among the recommendations of the Conference is one urging the establishment of a separate division of rural welfare in order to carry out one of the three major objectives of the Organization—the improvement of the welfare of rural peoples. It was also suggested that a Joint Standing Committee on rural hygiene be established by FAO and the World Health Organization.

The Conference endorsed the proposal for a 1950 World Census of Agriculture and urged that where possible forestry and fisheries censuses be conducted at the same time. It urged the development of a strong centralized staff for statistical work and the reestablishment and further development of the current statistical reports, previously carried on under the International Institute of Agriculture, as well as the statistical yearbooks previously published by the I. I. A. The I. I. A. itself was absorbed into FAO in August 1946.

The Conference accepted the conclusion of the FAO World Food Appraisal for 1946-47 that "despite the recent improvement in crop prospects in certain countries, there will remain during that year a serious gap between prospective export supplies and import needs of bread and other grains, as well as continued shortages of feeds, meat, sugar, and other essential foods." The Conference recommended that FAO continue to

issue periodic appraisals of the world food situation.

Establishment of joint committees with specialized agencies was recommended, including the I. L. O., on questions of social security of agricultural populations; UNESCO on the question of rural education; and the World Health Organization on questions of food composition, as well as rural health.

Special efforts were recommended to encourage and facilitate the creation of efficient cooperatives and also the reestablishment of cooperative organizations in the countries in which such organizations lost a large part of their trained personnel and facilities during the war.

Other recommendations dealt with the establishment of missions; problems relating to agricultural production, including fertilizers, the destruction of food by insects, rodents, moles, etc.; continuation of certain phases of the agricultural rehabilitation work of UNRRA; studies of fisheries problems; the preparation of a world balance sheet of lumber and forest products, and steps to develop unexploited forest resources, as well as to help devastated countries obtain lumber essential to reconstruction. FAO was asked to begin collecting data on the best use of plant products for human consumption and on the most economical and satisfactory balance in production between meat and milk and among poultry, meat and eggs.

Forty-one of the 47 member countries were represented at the conference. Five new member countries were admitted during the conference session; Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Switzerland. Seven non-member countries were represented by observers, as were 10 international organizations. Under Secretary of Agriculture, Norris E. Dodd, was head of the American delegation.

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**Ninth Annual Meeting of the  
Southern Sociological Society**

The Southern Sociological Society held its Ninth Annual Meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, on May 17-18.

The Society has a membership of 245. One hundred and sixty registered for the meeting, and approximately two-thirds of these came from outside the metropolitan area of Atlanta. No meeting was held in 1945, and it is quite likely that the attendance would have been greater had the meeting not been held so near the end of the school year. This was made necessary because of the difficulty of arranging hotel accommodations.

There were section programs on Socio-logical Aspects of Housing, Teaching of Sociology, Impersonal Factors in the Development of the South, Social Research, and Southern Attitudes and Aspirations. At the evening sessions on May 17, papers were given by Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, on "The Carrying Capacity of Sociology" and by William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, on "The Shape of Things to Come." Both are former presidents of The American Sociological Society. It was in the nature of a triumphal return for both as they are native Georgians and were formerly associated with higher institutions of learning in their native state.

The officers for 1945-46 are: T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, President; Gordon Blackwell, University of North Carolina, First Vice-President; Lou-la Dunn, Alabama State Department of Public Welfare, Second Vice-President; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, Secretary-Treasurer; Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society; and Morton B. King, Jr., University of Mississippi, and Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia, elected members of the Executive Committee.

**U. S. D. A., Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare.** Since the closing of the BAE regional offices July 1 most of the field staff have been reassigned to locations with Land-Grant Colleges, others to Washington, D. C., a few have transferred to other employment and several are pursuing further graduate work. A partial listing of such changes follows:

#### Present Location with BAE

R. E. Galloway	Washington State College	Pullman, Wash.
W. H. Metzler	P. O. Box 59	Berkeley, Calif.
Lawrence B. Lyall	Montana State College	Bozeman, Mont.
Anton H. Anderson	University of Nebraska	Lincoln, Nebr.
C. R. Draper	Oklahoma A. & M. College	Stillwater, Okla.
Paul J. Jehlik	Iowa State College	Ames, Iowa
Frank D. Alexander	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minn.
Theo L. Vaughan	Clemson Agricultural College	Clemson, S. C.
Donald G. Hay	Pennsylvania State College	State College, Pa.
Walter C. McKain, Jr.	BAE	Washington, D. C.
Nat T. Frame	BAE	Washington, D. C.
Robert L. McNamara	BAE	Washington, D. C.

Negotiations are under way for the re-assignment of Herbert Pryor after his recovery from a serious operation, and for M. Taylor Matthews.

#### Present Location with Other Public or Private Agencies

M. R. Hanger	War Assets Administration	Portland, Ore.
Walter R. Goldschmidt	Univ. of California at Los Angeles	Los Angeles, Calif.
Olaf F. Larson	Cornell University	... . . . Ithaca, N. Y.
John P. Johansen	University of Nebraska	Lincoln, Nebraska

**RURAL SOCIOLOGY**

Ronald B. Almack . . . . .	American Hospital Association . . . . .	Chicago, Ill.
James E. Montgomery . . . . .	Federal Housing Administration . . . . .	Atlanta, Ga.
Roy L. Roberts . . . . .	Social Security Administration . . . . .	Baltimore, Md.
Linden S. Dodson . . . . .	Veterans Administration . . . . .	Washington, D. C.
Joseph R. Cates . . . . .	Veterans Administration . . . . .	Washington, D. C.
Edgar A. Schuler . . . . .	Michigan State College . . . . .	East Lansing, Mich.

**On Detail to Other Agencies**

Earl H. Bell . . . . .	UNNRA . . . . .	Warsaw, Poland
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**On Leave for Graduate Study**

Henry W. Riecken . . . . .	Harvard University . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
T. Wilson Longmore . . . . .	Michigan State College . . . . .	East Lansing, Mich.
A. Lee Coleman . . . . .	Cornell University . . . . .	Ithaca, N. Y.
James S. Brown . . . . .	Harvard University . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.

**THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
PROGRAM**

**STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 28-30, 1946**

**Saturday, December 28**

10:00-12:00 a.m. Registration, Mezzanine Floor

2:00 p.m. Business session

3:00- 5:30 p.m. Effective Teaching in Rural Sociology—Lowery Nelson, University of Minnesota, Presiding

“The Community: A Laboratory for Teacher Education”

Evelyn R. Hodgdon, State Teachers College, Oneonta, N. Y.

“Rural Sociology Field Courses as Agents for Community Improvement”

Troy L. Stearns, Michigan State College

“Materials for a Standardized Basic Course in Rural Sociology”

Wayne T. Gray, Depauw University

“An Experiment in Teaching Rural Sociology”

William J. Tudor, Iowa State College

Discussion: Douglas G. Marshall, University of Minnesota

**Sunday, December 29**

9:00-11:00 a.m. Extension—A. F. Wileden, University of Wisconsin, Presiding  
“Some Contributions of Sociological Research in Developing the Extension Program”

R. W. Roskelley, State College of Washington

“Contemporary Trends in Rural Leadership”

J. E. Nuquist, Madison, Wisconsin

Discussion: W. H. Stacy, Iowa State College

1:15- 3:15 p.m. Rural Population—T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, Presiding

“The Optimum Rural-Urban Population Balance”

Walter Firey, University of Texas

“Differential Fertility of Rural Families”

George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin

“Factors Which Correlate with High School Attendance in Midwest States”

Floyd M. Martinson, Gustavus Adolphus College

Discussion: Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College

Harold T. Christensen, Brigham Young University

3:30- 5:30 p.m. New Challenges in Research—Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, Presiding

“Needed Research in Rural Housing”

Robert T. McMillan, Oklahoma A. & M. College

“Liberty Research”

Mr. Paul Howard, American Library Association

Discussion: W. F. Kumlien, South Dakota State College

Walter Slocum, Washington, D. C.

**Monday, December 30**

9:00 a.m. Presidential Address: “Folkways to Social Policy”

Paul H. Landis, State College of Washington

9:45-11:45 a.m. Planning and Policy—Walter McKain, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Presiding

“The Rural Sociologist's Contribution to World Social Organization”

Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky

“Rural Rehabilitation—Theory and Practice”

Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University

Discussion: John Uscem, University of Wisconsin

Herbert F. Lionberger, University of Missouri

11:45-12:30 a.m. Final Business Session

**NOTE: All sessions are in Conference Room 12, 4th floor.**

## RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1946

## ALABAMA

Anders, J. Olson	Box 564	Athens
Andrews, Henry L.	University of Alabama	University
Davis, Ralph N.	Box 216	Tuskegee Institute
Gomillion, Charles G.	Box 31	Tuskegee Institute
Nunn, Alexander	The Progressive Farmer	Birmingham 2

## ARKANSAS

Charlton, J. L.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Ewbank, John R.	Philander Smith College	Little Rock
Kennedy, Steele	U. S. Dept. of Agriculture	Little Rock
Matthews, M. Taylor	BAE, USDA	Little Rock
Pedersen, Harald A.	231 North Church Street	Fayetteville
Pryor, Herbert	BAE, USDA	Little Rock
*Rye, Mary Louise	.....	Russellville
Scantland, Lois	Agricultural Extension Service	Little Rock
Shannon, A. G.	College Station	Clarksville

## CALIFORNIA

DeGive, Mary L.	5855 Hollywood Blvd.	Hollywood 28
Fisher, Elliott L.	2469 Portola Way	Sacramento 17
Griffin, F. L.	College of Agriculture	Davis
McKain, Walter C., Jr.	584 Spruce Street	Berkeley 8
Metzler, William H.	222 Mercantile Bldg.	Berkeley
Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley 8

## COLORADO

Hudson, Gerald T.	Colorado A and M College	Fort Collins
Samora, Julian	Adams State College	San Luis

## CONNECTICUT

Hypes, J. L.	.....	Storrs
Whetten, Nathan L.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Woodward, Ralph L.	Yale Divinity School	New Haven

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Beck, P. G.	1247 New Hampshire Ave., NW	Washington
Bradshaw, Nettie P.	3522 13th St., NW	Washington
Clark, Lois M.	National Education Association	Washington 6
Ducoff, Louis J.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Ellickson, J. C.	3420 McKinley	Washington 15
Folsom, Josiah C.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Frame, Nat G.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Hagood, Margaret Jarman	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Jenkins, David R.	3500 39th St., NW	Washington
Kirkpatrick, E. L.	734 Jackson Place	Washington
McNamara, Robert L.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Nichols, Ralph R.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Niederfrank, E. J.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Noll, Miriam	1316 New Hampshire Ave., NW	Washington 6

Roberts, Roy L.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Rose, John Kerr	1308 16th St., NW	Washington 6
Rossoff, Milton	2712 29th St., SE	Washington 20
Ryan, Bryce	UNRRA	Washington
Slocum, Walter L.	840 Varnum St., NW	Washington 7
Taylor, Carl C.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Vogt, Paul L.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Wells, Oris V.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Witt, Lawrence W.	BAE, USDA	Washington 25
Woofter, Thomas J.	4318 Warren St., NW	Washington 16
Youngblood, B.	3816 Jenifer St., NW	Washington 15

**FLORIDA**

Alleger, Daniel E.	University of Florida	Gainesville
Moore, Coyle E.	F. S. C. W.	Tallahassee
Spellman, C. L.	Florida A & M College	Tallahassee

**GEORGIA**

McClain, Howard G.	Mercer University	Macon
Montgomery, James E.	BAE, USDA	Atlanta 3
Reid, Ira De A.	Atlanta University	Atlanta

**ILLINOIS**

Almack, Ronald B.	American Hospital Association	Chicago 10
*Bernert, Eleanor H.	6125 Kenwood Ave.	Chicago 37
Case, H. C. M.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Cummins, Rev. Ralph	809 South Fifth St.	Champaign
Derick, Rev. Francis M.	69 North Cone St.	Farmington
Hoffman, Oscar F.	225 Cottage Hill Avenue	Elmhurst
Lindstrom, David E.	300 New Agricultural Bldg.	Urbana
Mueller, Rev. E. W.	National Lutheran Council	Chicago 4
Petroff, Louis	Southern Illinois Normal Univ.	Carbondale
Ratcliffe, S. C.	Illinois Wesleyan Univ.	Bloomington
Regnier, E. H.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Rogers, Helene H.	Illinois State Library	Springfield
Smith, Rockwell C.	Garrett Biblical Institute	Evanston
Smith, William M., Jr.	University of Illinois	Urbana

**INDIANA**

Becker, Edwin L.	United Christian Missionary So.	Indianapolis 7
Davison, Victor H.	Box 551	Indianapolis
*Graham, Harry L.	Box 358	Millford
Gray, Wayne T.	613 Anderson St.	Greencastle
Greene, Shirley E.	Merom Institute	Merom
Hall, O. F.	Purdue University	Lafayette
Hershberger, Guy F.	Goshen College	Goshen
Losey, Edwin J.	Agricultural Experiment Station	Lafayette
Moomaw, I. W.	Indiana Farm Bureau	North Manchester
O'Hara, Warren	829 North Main St.	Indianapolis
Shideler, E. H.		West Lafayette

## IOWA

*Carter, Gene W.	110 South B. St.	Indianola
*Fessler, Donald R.	Box CC, Station A	Ames
*Ghormley, Hugh	1535 26th St.	Des Moines
Graff, E. F.	525 Ash St.	Ames
Gross, Neal	Iowa State College	Ames
Hill, Reuben	3018 Story St.	Ames
Hradecky, Rev. W.	Duncan	Britt
Jehlik, Paul J.	1218 Ridgewood St.	Ames
National Catholic Rural Life Conference		
Pahlman, Margaret B.	3801 Grand Ave.	Des Moines 12
*Rohwer, Robert A.	State University of Iowa	Iowa City
Sanford, Mrs. Gertrude	119 Beach Ave.	Ames
Schultz, Gerard	608 Grand St.	Ames
Stacy, W. H.	Simpson College	Indianola
Tudor, William J.	Iowa State College	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E.	Iowa State College	Ames
	507 Lynn Ave.	Ames

## KANSAS

Eggerling, A.	Kensington
Hill, Randall C.	Manhattan
Kollmorgen, Walter M.	Lawrence
Schroll, Sister Agnes C.	Atchison
Wolters, Rev. Gilbert	Atchison

## KENTUCKY

Anderson, C. Arnold	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Beers, Howard W.	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Hanna, Morton C.	109 East Broadway	Louisville 2
Hatch, David and Mary Alice		Millersburg
Kaufman, Harold F.	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Nicholls, W. D.	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Oyler, Merton D.	Berea College	Berea
Ramsey, Ralph J.	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Sanders, Irwin T.	University of Kentucky	Lexington

## LOUISIANA

*Bedsale, George W., Jr.	3296 Ivanhoe St.	Baton Rouge 13
Bourgeois, L. L.	Loyola University	New Orleans
D'Argonne, Michael C.	5933 Vicksburg St.	New Orleans 19
Frey, Fred C.	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Heberle, Rudolf	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Hitt, Homer L.	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Hyde, Roy E.	Southeastern Louisiana College	Hammond
Kemp, Louise	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Parenton, Vernon, J.	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
*Rios, Jose Arthur	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Smith, Marion B.	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Smith, T. Lynn	Louisiana State University	Baton Rouge 3
Thompson, Susanne	University Station	Baton Rouge 3

## MAINE

\*Morse, Valton V.  
Wilson, Margaret S.

The Rurban Fellowship  
University of Maine

Brewer  
Orono

## MARYLAND

Baker, O. E.  
Dodson, Linden S.  
Longmore, T. Wilson  
McDonald, H. M.  
Taeuber, Conrad and Irene  
Timmons, John F.  
Wilson, M. L.

University of Maryland  
N. H. Avenue Extension  
4230 34th St.  
State Department of Education  
4222 Sheridan St.  
9909 Indian Lane  
14 Rosemary St.

College Park  
Silver Springs  
Mt. Rainier  
Baltimore 1  
Hyattsville  
Silver Springs  
Chevy Chase

## MASSACHUSETTS

\*Safford, N. Morton  
Zimmerman, Carle C.

235 Main St.  
Harvard University

Hingham  
Cambridge 38

## MICHIGAN

Anthropology Department  
Beegle, J. Allan  
Burnham, Ernest  
Gibson, D. L.  
Hoffer, Charles R.  
Holmes, Roy H.  
Honigsheim, Paul  
Landis, Judson T.  
Loomis, Charles P.  
Robinson, William McKinley  
Schuler, Edgar A.  
Sower, Christopher  
Thaden, J. F.  
Weber, Kenneth C.

Michigan State College  
Michigan State College  
Box 986  
Michigan State College  
Michigan State College  
706 Monroe St.  
Michigan State College  
5980 Abbott Road  
Anthropology Department  
1414 Low Road  
Michigan State College  
Michigan State College  
Michigan State College  
2101 Barlum Tower

East Lansing  
East Lansing  
Kalamazoo  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
Ann Arbor  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
Kalamazoo 41  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
East Lansing  
Detroit 26

## MINNESOTA

Alexander, Frank D.  
\*Burrus, John N.  
Davies, Vernon  
Dvoracek, D. C.  
Hynes, Emerson  
Jacobson, Ernst T.  
Marshall, D. G.  
Martinson, Floyd M.  
Miller, Ralph E.  
Nelson, Lowry  
Sletter, Raymond F.  
\*Toews, Marvin J.

731 E. 51 St.  
1628 4th St. SE  
University Farm  
University Farm  
St. John's University  
Superintendent of Schools  
University Farm  
Gustavus Adolphus College  
University Farm  
University Farm  
University of Minnesota  
University of Minnesota

Minneapolis  
Minneapolis 14  
St. Paul 8  
St. Paul 8  
Collegeville  
Cokato  
St. Paul 8  
St. Peter  
St. Paul 8  
St. Paul 8  
Minneapolis 14  
Minneapolis 14

## MISSISSIPPI

Delta Cotton Council  
Dickins, Dorothy  
King, Morton B., Jr.

State College  
University of Mississippi

Stoneville  
State College  
University

## MISSOURI

Bankert, Zetta E.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Bright, Margaret L.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Hepple, Lawrence M.	417 West Walnut	Columbia
Lionberger, Herbert F.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Lively, Charles E.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Long, H. R.	220 Walter Williams Hotel	Columbia

## MONTANA

Kraenzel, Carl F.	Montana State College	Bozeman
Renne, R. R.	Montana State College	Bozeman

## NEBRASKA

Anderson, A. H.	BAE, USDA	Lincoln
Johansen, John P.	University of Nebraska	Lincoln
Melvin, Bruce L.	702 W. Jackson St.	Blair
Riensche, Rev. R. H.	6102 S. 33 Ave.	Eustin
Shroud, Mrs. C. H.	Rudge Building	Omaha
Starch, E. A.	Dana College	Lincoln
*Strempeke, Rev. Vernon L.		Blair

## NEW JERSEY

Felton, Ralph A.	Drew University	Madison
*Gardner, John	25 Pershing Road	Englewood
Henssler, Frederick W.	Pine Twig Farm	Ringoes
Spaulding, Irving A.	Rutgers University	New Brunswick
*Turnquist, Dorothy A.	Box 56	Morristown

## NEW MEXICO

Johansen, Sigurd	State College	State College
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## NEW YORK

Anderson, Walfred A.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Atterbury, Marguerite	50 Morningside Drive	New York
*Barlow, Addie M.	1230 Amsterdam Ave.	New York 27
*Bauder, Ward W.	Cornell University	Ithaca
*Best, Mabel F.	1230 Amsterdam Ave.	New York 27
Bruce, William	152 East St.	Oneonta
Brunner, Edmund deS.	Columbia University	New York 27
Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Cyr, Frank W.	Columbia University	New York 27
*Davis, Loa	1230 Amsterdam Ave.	New York 27
Duthie, Mary Eva	Cornell University	Ithaca
*Eshleman, Robert F.	487 Hudson St.	King Ferry
*Freeston, F.	Hotel Stanhope	New York 14
Gusti, D.	State Teachers College	New York 28
Hodgdon, Evelyn R.	10 Gould St.	Oneonta
*Holliday, Priscilla	Rural Settlement Institute	Great Neck
Infield, Henrik F.	468 Riverside Drive	Poughkeepsie
Johns, Ray	University of Rochester	New York 27
Koos, Earl		Rochester

*Kristof, Frank S.	209 Clinton Ave.	Brooklyn
Larson, Olaf F.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Lehmann, W. E.	Syracuse University	Syracuse
Leighton, Ben J.	General Delivery	Syracuse
Lorge, Irving	Columbia University	New York 27
*Losee, Marshall	7805 79th Place	Glendale, S. I.
*McKnight, Frances G.	17 James St.	Homer
McMinn, Rev. Gerald W.	St. Bonaventure College	St. Bonaventure
*Marshall, John	106 Morningside Drive	New York 27
Mendelsohn, Nathan K.	37-27 65th St., Woodside	Long Island
Morse, H. N.	156 5th Ave.	New York
*Pierstorff, Charles	61 Haven Ave.	New York 32
Polson, Robert A.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Rich, Mark	Baptist Mission Society	New York 10
Rodehaver, Myles W.	University of Rochester	Rochester 3
Rockwood, Lemo D.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Samuelson, Rev. Clifford	281 4th Ave.	New York 10
Smith, Harold E.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Staley, Mrs. Helen K.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Tripp, Thomas A.	287 4th Ave.	New York 10
*Vucinick, A. S.	25 West 64th St.	New York
Wayland, Sloan R.	304 West 106 St.	Ithaca
*White, James E.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Williams, Robin and Mrs.	Cornell University	Ithaca
*Winn, Gardner L.	805 East Seneca St.	Ithaca
*Yang, Ellwood Hsin-Pao	Columbia University	New York 27

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Bobbitt, Robert McD.	.	Littleton
Chambers, M. R.	.	Milton
Comfort, Richard O.	Warren Wilson College	Swannanoa
Ferriss, Abbott L.	Box 925	Chapel Hill
Forster, G. W.	N. C. State College	Raleigh
Forsyth, Howard F.	701 Simpson St.	Greensboro
Hamilton, C. Horace	N. C. State College	Raleigh
Hartman, V. E.	Box 1816	Asheville
Hubbard, J. C.	Box 581	Durham
Ivey, John E., Jr.	Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education	Chapel Hill
King, Charles E.	Bennett College	Greensboro
Mayo, Selz C.	N. C. State College	Raleigh
*Meader, Kenneth R.	Box 1028	Chapel Hill
Nixon, Mrs. E. T.	Negro Home Agent	Durham
Ormand, J. M.	Duke University	Durham
Ratchford, Charles Brice	N. C. State College	Raleigh
Rawls, H. D.	N. C. State College	Raleigh
*Scott, C. C.	1310 Hillsboro	Raleigh
Stafford, Garland R.	.	Taylorsville
Thomasson, M. E.	Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte 2

Vance, Rupert B.  
Wakefield, Olaf  
Wilkening, Eugene A.

University of North Carolina  
2402 Clark Ave.  
N. C. State College

Chapel Hill  
Raleigh  
Raleigh

Cape, Wilson T.  
Hylden, Rev. Joseph L.  
Vergeront, Glen V.

#### NORTH DAKOTA

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North Dakota Agricultural Col.

University  
Grand Forks  
Fargo

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Falconer, J. I.  
Glaser, Rev. Robert E.  
\*Landis, C. D.  
Ludlow, William L.  
Mangus, A. Raymond  
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Ortmayer, Roger E.  
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Schmidt, J. P.  
Taylor, E. A.  
Thompson, Warren S.

Ohio State University	Stryker
St. Sebastian	Columbus
Ohio State University	Chickasaw
.....	Columbus
160 West High St.	Sugar Grove
2718 Kent Road	Harrod
Community Service, Inc.	New Concord
Mount Union College	Columbus 8
Western Reserve University	Yellow Springs
Capital University	Alliance
Ohio State University	Cleveland
Ohio University	Columbus 9
Miami University	Columbus 10
.....	Athens
.....	Oxford

#### OKLAHOMA

\*Black, Therel R.  
Duncan, O. D.  
Hopper, Lois N.  
LaCamp, Ira Rex  
McMillan, Robert T.  
Roberts, Charles D.

Oklahoma A & M College  
Oklahoma A & M College  
Box 3127  
Box 127  
123 West Maple St.  
403 Whitehurst Hall

Stillwater  
Stillwater  
Oklahoma City 5  
Enid  
Stillwater  
Stillwater

#### OREGON

Bakkum, Glen A.  
Beck, J. R.  
Duffy, Walter A.  
Freeman, Edith J.  
Griffeth, Ross J.  
Hanger, M. R.  
King, Joe J.

521 North 35th St.  
660 Madison  
211 Terminal Sales Bldg.  
Oregon State College  
Northwest Christian College  
Box 3537  
5660 SW East 22 Ave.

Corvallis  
Corvallis  
Portland 5  
Corvallis  
Eugene  
Portland 8  
Portland 12

#### PENNSYLVANIA

Biddle, William W.  
Borman, Charles J.  
Gordon, W. R.  
Greth, Morris S.  
Hay, Donald G.  
Hess, Walter L.  
Hoover, Harvey D.  
Jastram, Esther E.

Farm Security Administration  
Cedar Crest College  
Pennsylvania State College  
621 North 24th St.  
301 South Garner St.  
321 Spring Ave.  
469 Main St.

Philadelphia 2  
Allentown  
State College  
Allentown  
State College  
Slippery Rock  
Gettysburg  
Kutztown

John, M. E.	Pennsylvania State College	State College
Mather, William G.	234 E. Hamilton Ave.	State College
Russell, Seth W.	Pennsylvania State College	State College
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>		
Whitney, Vincent H.	Brown University	Providence
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>		
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<b>TENNESSEE</b>		
Allred, C. E.	University of Tennessee	Knoxville 16
Bonser, Howard J.	University of Tennessee	Knoxville 16
Copeland, Lewis C.	TVA Commerce Department	Knoxville
Kloepfer, Herman J.	Knoxville College	Knoxville 16
Murray, Rev. Christopher	413 Commerce Avenue	Knoxville 16
Osburn, George C.	208 South Greer St.	Memphis 11
Rapking, Aaron H.	Hiwassee College	Madisonville
Smathers, Rev. Eugene	Calvary Church	Big Lick
<b>TEXAS</b>		
Bertrand, John R.	Texas A & M College	College Station
Boutell, Frank A.	Farmers Home Adm.	Dallas 1
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Ozbirn, E. Lee	Farmers Home Adm.	Dallas 1
Russell, Daniel	Texas A & M College	College Station
Swift, Helen H.	Extension Service	College Station
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Christensen, Harold T.	Brigham Young University	Provo
Geddes, Joseph A.	Utah State Agricultural College	Logan
<b>VERMONT</b>		
Carter, R. M.	Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station	Burlington
<b>VIRGINIA</b>		
Dove, Fred	Bridgewater College	Bridgewater
*Ekdahl, Kenneth J. (Lt.)	Service Force Subordinate Command	Norfolk
Ensminger, Douglas	4409 North 15th St.	Arlington
Eure, Werdna W.	VPI Extension Service	Blacksburg
Folse, Clinton L.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg

Galpin, C. J.	202 Little Falls	Falls Church
Garnett, W. E.	Agricultural Experiment Station	Blacksburg
Gee, Wilson	University of Virginia	Charlottesville
Gibbs, Glynwood C.	Thomas Jefferson School	Suffolk
Gibson, D. L. (Lt.)	2530 Wilson Blvd.	Arlington
Harris, Marshall	4641 24th St.	Arlington
Hoover, Edith	Marion College	Marion
Hummel, B. L.	VPI Extension Service	Blacksburg
Leonard, Olen E.	415 Brook Drive	Falls Church
Maris, Paul V.	3166 North 18th St.	Arlington
Mason, John E.	106 North George Mason Drive	Arlington
Mears, Murphy C.	Walnut Hills	Petersburg
Pahlman, Kenneth	2868 South Abingdon	Arlington
Paschke, John W.	4140 South 36 St.	Arlington
Raper, Arthur	1805 North Madison St.	Arlington
Smith, Raymond C.	3211 North Woodrow St.	Arlington
Smith, Russell	310 South Lee St.	Alexandria
Tannous, Afif L.	3209 South 12th St.	Arlington
Tate, Leland B.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Whipple, Clayton E.	1545 Key Blvd.	Arlington
Wiecking, E. H.	RFD No. 2	Alexandria

## WASHINGTON

*Boyland, Dorothy	Washington State College	Pullman
*Day, Barbara	College Station	Pullman
Landis, Paul H.	Washington State College	Pullman
*Larson, Carol M.	Washington State College	Pullman
Lundberg, George A.	University of Washington	Seattle 5
Roskelly, R. W.	Washington State College	Pullman
Steiner, Jesse F.	University of Washington	Seattle 5
Yoder, Fred R.	Washington State College	Pullman

## WEST VIRGINIA

Harris, Thomas L.	West Virginia University	Morgantown
Hayward, Harold M.	Marshall College	Huntington
Hibbs, Ward W.	Box 896	Parkersburg

## WISCONSIN

Barton, John R.	University of Wisconsin	Madison 6
*Bayley, Ray W. G.	Route No. 1	Cambria
Belcher, John C.	1311 Chandler St.	Madison
*Beran, Don L.	4017 Birch Ave.	Madison 5
*Cartter, Bruce L.	438 Lorch St.	Madison 5
Day, Rev. LeRoy J.	Route No. 3	Delavan
Dept. Debating & Discussion	Science Hall	Madison 6
*Emanuel, Samuel	740 Langdon St.	Madison
Hill, George W.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Johnson, Palmer A.	.....	Middletown
Kolb, J. H.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
Nylin, V. E.	State Teachers College	Platteville
*Risquez, Jesus	University of Wisconsin	Madison 6

## MEMBERSHIP LIST

411

*Schwiebert, Alice M.	116 East Gilman St.	Madison 3
*Scott, Woodrow W.	Route 1,	Waunakee
Sewell, William H.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Sturm, R. A.	- 1620 Madison St.	Madison 5
Useem, John	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Vazquez, Pablo B.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Waldrep, Jack	Box 337	Albany
Wileden, A. F.	University of Wisconsin	Madison

### WYOMING

Baird, Mae	1415 Custer St.	Laramie
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### \*Student Members

## FOREIGN MEMBERS

### AUSTRALIA

Rothberg, Maurice	University of Melbourne	Melbourne, Vic.
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### BRAZIL

Goncalves de Souza, Sr. Joao Leao, Carneiro	Ministerio da Agricultura	Rio de Janeiro
Ramos, Dr. Arthur	Osario, Apt. 401	Rio de Janeiro

### CANADA

Longley, W. V.	Director of Extension	Truro, Nova Scotia
Sim, R. Alex	MacDonald College	Quebec
Younge, Eva R.	3600 University St.	Montreal 2

### CHINA

Yen, Kuo-Tai	Economic Research Department	Nanking
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### CUBA

Buron, B. Brito	Escuela Normal Rural "Jose Marti"	Habana
Mederos de Gonzalez, Elena	Lyceum, Calzada y 8	Vedado

### EGYPT

Zaki, Abd-el-Hamid	Cairo School of Social Work	Cairo
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### ENGLAND

Hirsch, G. P.	Newham Walk	Cambridge
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### INDIA

Goheen, J. L.	Allahabad Agricultural Institute	Allahabad
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### PUERTO RICO

Getz, Jane C.	Box 4269	San Juan 21
Senior, Clarence	University of Puerto Rico	Rio Piedras
Williams, Hugh J.	Box 426	Rio Piedras
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